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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

STUDY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

(375–814).

BY

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MEZZANINE

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To my Father,

WHO MADE THE SCHOLAR'S LIFE POSSIBLE FOR ME,

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK.

5107

MEZZANINE

PREFACE.

The period of time of which this book treats is that lying between the greatest splendor of the Roman Empire and the beginning of what may properly be called the Middle Ages. It is a period which has often been passed over lightly by historians or dismissed with a sneer as the Dark Ages of the world. And this was done in spite of the fact that perhaps the greatest historian, all things considered, who has ever written in the English language, chose just this period for his theme. It is not improbable that the very title of Gibbon's great work may have done its part toward creating a false impression of the time he describes. If one comes to our period as a time of Decline and Fall merely, one can hardly fail to carry away from the study of it a depressing sense of gloom and wretchedness. Gibbon himself, great historian as he was, did not succeed in avoiding this danger. His splendid narrative is on the whole a mournful one. We feel ourselves to be dealing with the wild movements of men, either half brutal or wholly brutalized. We see a magnificent edifice crumbling to decay, but we are not impressed with the elements of life contained in this very process.

It is only when we realize that this is a period of decay

only in the sense in which the leaf decays, that it may make the ground fruitful for more abundant life, that we are able to see its true meaning. If we can do this, then what had before seemed blind forces of destruction become agents working together in the making of a new and fairer civilization. It is the purpose of this book to dwell upon these elements of construction, to show how they originated, and how they were tending to produce the life of the great period which was to follow.

These forces were chiefly three: First, the organized Christian Church, and especially that part of it which had come to acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman papacy; second, the Germanic races, coming in upon the soil of Rome, taking possession of the Roman land, subjecting the Roman population to their political control, but in their turn taking up the religion, the language, and the customs of the conquered; third, the domination of the Frankish race over all the other Germanic nations of the continent. The history of these three lines of development finds its natural culmination in the union of the Frankish kingdom with the Roman papacy under the form of the Holy Roman Empire.

The sources of information for our period are meagre and difficult both to decipher and to understand. The result of this has been that there is hardly any subject within the range of our study upon which there are not many and wide differences of opinion among scholars. It has, of course, not been possible to go into these controversies, but the effort has been made to let the pupil see that the information here given is not of the kind which he would find in a mathe-

matical treatise, but is subject to correction whenever a better light can be thrown upon it.

It has further not been forgotten that this is an "Introduction," designed to lead the student to search for himself into the history of a later period.

The author is under obligations to many friends for their interest and their help. Especially to Professor G. P. Fisher and Mr. E. G. Bourne of Yale University, to Professor E. B. Andrews of Brown University, and Professor W. F. Allen of the University of Wisconsin, his thanks are due for very many useful suggestions and corrections which have added much to the value of the book. The chapters on law and the feudal system had the advantage of correction by the late Professor Ernest Young of Harvard University, whose lamented death is a serious loss to American scholarship.

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INTRODUCTION.

SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS.

This book is not intended to do away with the teacher. On the contrary, it rests upon the conviction that a text-book of history is valuable only as it helps and is helped by the teacher's work. Nor, on the other hand, is it intended to be a pocket-encyclopædia for the period it covers. It aims to present a narrative which can be read and studied by an intelligent pupil, who already knows something of Roman history, without weariness and without confusion, and which shall also open to both teacher and pupil an outlook over a wider field than it can itself occupy.

If the author had not believed that a book might do something to show these wider relations of history, he would not have wasted his time upon these pages, but he must frankly admit that the usefulness of his book will depend almost entirely upon the tact and enthusiasm of the teacher who uses it.

All historical instruction must rest upon two foundation-stones, — Geography and Chronology. Without these it is merely floating about in space and time.

Geography. — Let all historical geography rest upon physical geography, and never fail to bring it back to

that. The too common habit of bounding one country by others tends to make pupils forget the natural features of the earth's surface, and they must be constantly reminded of them. It would be well if they could be led always to describe the situation of peoples and places by reference to these natural features. This is of especial importance in a period in which the races are constantly changing their homes and forming new political boundaries. If the student has not the "lay of the land" clearly in his mind, he will be in hopeless confusion.

The best way to keep these natural features permanently before the pupil, is to require him to draw maps. By using the outline maps of Europe, which can be had at very small expense from the publishers of this book, he will readily become accustomed to the fixedness of the surface lines and the variableness of the political boundaries. He will see how much or how little the latter depend upon the former, and will soon come to have his own ideas about them. Let him draw the outline of the states of Europe at frequent intervals, *e.g.* the Roman Empire before 375, Europe at the year 500, the lines of march of the Germanic peoples, the kingdom of Dagobert (628), Europe at the time of Charlemagne, and so on. Wherever an event is mentioned by which the map of Europe was changed, let him draw that change for himself. At first he may be allowed to copy his lines from some other map, but he will soon learn to draw his own lines from oral description. The sense that he is making maps for himself will rouse his pride and increase his interest. For ordinary purposes the maps here given will suffice, but a

larger historical atlas should always be at hand for reference.

There is no really good historical atlas in English. The best are those of Keith Johnston and Labberton. Much better is a French atlas by Drioux and Leroy. Best of all for the student's use is the recent German work of Droysen. The great atlas of Spruner gives an enormous amount of detail, but, for that very reason, is very difficult for the ordinary student to find his way in.

The teacher will find much of value in Freeman's "Historical Geography," and in Himly's "Histoire de la Formation Territoriale des États de l'Europe Centrale."

Chronology. — It is equally important that a certain number of dates should be learned accurately and solidly. The danger here is that too much may be required, and the pupil's mind be thus burdened with a mass of information, the meaning of which he cannot understand. Require at first but few dates, but let these be such as mark great crises of history. Others may then be grouped about these, and will never be forgotten so long as the central dates are remembered. Do not ask pupils to learn lists of rulers, because rulers have not generally been the most important makers of history. It may be urged that the names of rulers form convenient pegs on which to hang our historical knowledge, but we can generally find better pegs. For example, when did Alaric the Visigoth sack Rome? One answer might be, "In the reign of Honorius." And if we knew the dates for the reign of Honorius, we should of course be able to remember pretty nearly when Rome was sacked; but the fact is, that Honorius was one of

the least important persons in the Roman Empire, while Alaric was, for the time, the most important. It would be well, therefore, to fix permanently in the mind the date when Alaric sacked Rome, and trust to our general knowledge to remember that at that time the nominal ruler of the western world chanced to be named Honorius the son of Theodosius.

A mistaken zeal in this matter of dates has probably been the main cause of the disgust felt by most pupils who have been taught history by the old methods. The dates to be learned by heart should be learned carefully, and be continually referred to as the fixed points in the pupil's knowledge. He should repeat them and write them very often, and should be made to form his own chronological tables by filling in between these fixed points such other dates and events as he is likely to remember, and no others. More dates have been given in this book than ought to be learned by heart. They have been given in order to show the continuity of the narrative. Such as ought to be learned at once and never forgotten are printed in bolder type.

An indispensable book for every historical student is Tillinghast's translation of Ploetz's Epitome of Universal History. Larger, and giving a more continuous narrative, with very valuable bibliography, maps, and chapters upon the history of civilization, is Dr. G. P. Fisher's "Outlines of Universal History." Haydn's Dictionary of Dates may be kept for occasional reference.

Memorizing. — How much of the text-book ought to be committed to memory is one of the most difficult problems of elementary education. My own answer

would be, "only that should be learned by heart which is fitted to become a permanent mental possession," and that surely cannot be claimed for the words of this book. It is an error to suppose that committing a thing to memory makes it one's own. We really own only that which we have made our own by putting it through the machinery of our own minds. The memorizing of another's words can give us only the skeleton of his ideas. If we would really understand him, we must work over for ourselves what he has given us. So in learning history one must memorize only the skeleton of the story, and must clothe this with flesh and blood by means of his own powers of assimilation. The pupil should be required, not to learn the words of this book by heart, but to reproduce its contents orally or in writing, as the teacher may require. This caution, which is happily superfluous for many teachers, is unfortunately still necessary in too many cases. Let the memory be called upon for dates, facts of geography, whatever is worth being retained verbally in the mind, and where it is called upon, let the demand be strictly enforced. But let it never be forgotten that if the pupil once comes to think that studying history means memorizing isolated facts, he is lost forever to the cause of historical learning.

Collateral Reading. — This book can be of little use to a teacher who has not carefully studied the period from more detailed sources of information. A text-book ought to be a book of texts, upon which the teacher can base his independent work. If, however, this wider knowledge must largely be gathered by the way, the books recommended should be so read as to

furnish the most abundant illustration of the topic immediately under treatment.

The pupil should be encouraged to read whatever bears upon the period. Poems, plays, novels, as well as more detailed histories, should be put in his way, and he should be helped to understand what he reads. He should be required to read passages in larger historical works or articles in encyclopædias, and to report to the teacher in writing whatever adds to the narrative here given. He will thus learn the greatest lesson of all historical study, that history is not "all in the book," but is to be learned from a great variety of sources. The present increased interest in historical study is due mainly to the enforcement of this principle.

The most valuable sources of information on this subject are the publications of our great libraries, such as the Boston Athenæum, Boston Public, and Harvard University. The Boston Public Library Catalogue of Fiction is very complete and useful.

Sources. — The whole period of our study is one of the greatest literary depression. The Roman populations had lost their desire and their power for literary production, and the Germanic peoples had not yet learned how to express themselves in writing. As long as Rome had been steadily rising in power, her educated men had been proud to write of her splendid achievements, and even after Rome had ceased to conquer and yet was able to hold her own, the same impulse had gone on. Roman writers, trained in the best schools, both of Greece and Rome, still kept up to a high standard of literary taste.

But when the sun of Rome began to set, when along

all her borders the barbarian was pressing more and more violently for admittance, and when it became clear that he would no longer be denied, then literature in its turn began to feel the effects of the long strain. The old heroic spirit died out of Roman writing. In its place came the vulgar and fulsome panegyric of men, whose chief merit was that they had known how for a moment to put off the inevitable destruction. And all this only grew worse and worse as men came to turn their abilities and their learning more and more to the service of the Church. All the best minds from the third century on were concerned more to discover the true meaning of the articles of belief than to explore the history of their times or to give free play to the imagination in works of poetry or the drama.

We are concerned only with the effect of this literary dulness upon the writing of history. The list of historians from Valens to Charlemagne is meagre enough. In that whole period of about four hundred years there is about a score of names worthy of mention, but not half of these have any real claim to the title of historian. They are mainly gleaners of anecdotes, with little sense of true historical accuracy and little power of clear and vivid presentation. The rise and development of a new mediæval historical literature will be traced in the chapters upon Frankish history.

No attempt has here been made to give anything like a full list of books upon our period. Only such have been named as are either especially useful in themselves or have the negative merit of being accessible. Books in foreign languages have generally been men-

tioned only when there are none of value in English on the given topic.

The following works will be found serviceable during the whole course of the book: —

Edward Gibbon: The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. 8 vols. In spite of all that has been written on the subject during the hundred years since it appeared, the work of Gibbon remains a splendid monument of industrious research, of profound historical insight, and of vivid presentation.

J. G. Sheppard: The Fall of Rome and the Rise of the New Nationalities. Lond. & N.Y. 1861. Lectures covering just our period; diffuse, but useful to the careful student.

William Robertson: Introduction to the History of Charles V. A brilliant picture of early European History, needing correction at many points from the results of later scholarship.

Laurent: Histoire de l'humanité. Vols. 5, 6, 7. 1857. A philosophical examination into the history of this period. Valuable for a general grasp of the whole subject.

T. H. Dyer: The City of Rome, its vicissitudes and monuments from its foundation to the end of the Middle Ages, — with remarks on the recent excavations. Lond. 1883.

E. A. Freeman: The Chief Periods of European History. Six Lectures. Lond. 1886.

C. J. Stillé: Studies in Mediæval History (early chapters). Phil. 1882.

Geffcken: Church and State. Transl. and ed. by E. F. Taylor. 2 vols. Lond. 1877. A careful review of the relation of the Church power to the State, especially in mediæval and modern Europe.

A. M. Curteis: History of the Roman Empire from the death of Theodosius the Great to the coronation of Charles the Great. Lond. & Phil. 1875. A short study of our period from the point of view of Rome.

W. Assmann: Geschichte des Mittelalters. 2 vols. 1875–79. Of especial value for the study of materials.

F. P. G. Guizot: History of Civilization in France.

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMANS TO A.D. 375.

MODERN WORKS: — Theodor Mommsen: History of Rome. 6 vols. — Wilhelm Ihne: History of Rome. 5 vols. Lond. 1871. — J. V. Duruy: History of Rome and the Roman People from its origin to the establishment of the Christian Empire. Ed. J. P. Mahaffy. Trans. by Mr. Clarke and Miss Ripley. 6 vols. in 12 pts. Lond. 1884. Illus. — Charles Merivale: History of the Romans under the Empire. 7 vols. in 4. N.Y. 1880. — R. F. Leighton: History of Rome. N.Y. — Goldwin Smith: The Greatness of Rome. In his Lectures and Essays. 1881. — A. Neander: The Emperor Julian and his Generation. Trans. by I. G. V. Cox. N.Y. 1850. — L. Friedländer: Sittengeschichte Roms. 5th ed. 3 vols. 1881.

The following numbers of the "Epoch" Series: —

Wilhelm Ihne: Early Rome. — R. B. Smith: Rome and Carthage. — A. H. Beesley: The Gracchi, Marius and Sulla. — W. W. Capes: The Early Empire from Julius Cæsar to Domitian. — W. W. Capes: The Roman Empire of the second century, or The Age of the Antonines.

THE two peoples with whom we are to deal in this book are the Romans and the Germans, branches of the **Aryan** or **Indo-European** race of men. There were eight principal branches of this race, five of which had their homes in Europe, and three in Asia. It is generally believed that at some very distant time, so far away that we have no record of it, these different branches all formed one people and lived

The Aryan race.

somewhere in Western Asia, between the valley of the Euphrates and the valley of the Indus. Then, still before any written history, the race moved away from its home, and one part of it passed westward, probably by way of the opening between the Ural Mountains and the Caspian Sea, into Europe; another remained settled in the Tigris-Euphrates valley; while a third part went to the east and south, down the Indus, into the valley of the Ganges. This branch became the great Indian race, which used the Sanskrit language, and which has preserved in its literature some traces of its wanderings. The second group comprised the **Medes** and the **Persians**, who successively controlled the Euphrates country and whose descendants live there to this day.[1]

The European branches.

Of the five branches into which the European portion divided, the **Kelts** seem to have been in the advance and were probably pushed by the others towards the west until they came to live in the British Islands, in France, and Spain. Next behind them were the **Germans**, who filled in all the central part of Europe, from the Alps northward to the sea and spread out over the coasts of Scandinavia. Beyond the Germans, to the east, were the **Slavs**, a race which has never formed a united government for itself, but has mingled with other races, and forms to this day a large part of the population in Russia, Austria, Hungary, and the Danube provinces. Farther to the south came the **Italians** and the **Greeks**, whose homes you will have no difficulty in remembering.

[1] The most recent investigations tend to throw doubt upon the original residence of the Aryans in Western Asia, but have not yet offered any satisfactory substitute.

It is only about a hundred years since men began to think that all these races might be parts of one single family, and it is much less than that since we have become tolerably certain of it. The chief reason for believing in the unity of the Indo-European race, is that all the languages spoken by the various branches have so many root-words alike, that we can hardly believe that they are not derived from one common language.[1]

Proof of unity.

But however much alike they may once have been, they early became marked by very great differences. The Greeks and Italians had come into warm and fertile countries, where agriculture was easy and where a very long coast-line with many harbors tempted them to a seafaring life.[2] The northern branches, on the other hand, had come to a country where everything was opposed to civilization, where dense forests or endless marshes covered the ground, where long and hard winters made even the maintenance of life a hard struggle, and where a rough and dangerous northern sea offered them no attractions on its farther shore to offset the peril of the voyage.

Race differences.

All these causes, working through a period whose length we cannot guess at, had made the races fitted for quite different parts in the great drama of recorded history. The Greeks excelled in everything that had to do with beauty and with human thought in the abstract, but they did not

What each race gave to the world.

[1] An idea of the process by which these results have been reached, may be gained from the popular writings of Prof. Max Müller in England, and Prof. W. D. Whitney of Yale University.

[2] E. Curtius: History of Greece, Bk. I. Ch. I.

know how to carry out their thought into practice in such a way as to give men great organized institutions. They have left us a splendid inheritance in works of art and literature, in philosophy and in the history of political experiments. They never succeeded in founding a united Greek state. The Italians, on the other hand, especially the Romans, had the gift of practical politics. Their mission was to give law and order to the South of Europe. Of the Northern nations, but one claims our attention. The Kelt gave way whenever he was brought into contact with another race. The Slav has not yet risen to be conscious of his power. The **German** alone of Northmen has taken rank with Greek and Roman in the work of civilization. His part has been to take the best of what they had given him and to work it over into permanent institutions.

Our book has to do with a time when Greek culture had lost its hold upon Western Europe, when the political institutions which the Romans had founded were passing away, and when the Germans were beginning to take up the work of civilization. Our main interest is in the transition from Roman to German institutions. Before we come to this main topic it will be well for us to recall to mind the process by which the Roman Empire of the fourth century after Christ had come to be the thing it was.

How the Romans had conquered the world.

The Romans were a small and feeble branch of the Italian race, settled in a not very beautiful or healthful region on the lower course of the river Tiber. Their outward history for seven hundred years is one of steady and uninterrupted conquest. Beginning in their immediate neigh-

c. 750 B.C.

borhood, they had beaten all their neighbors in war and had then Romanized them, making them one with themselves and using them as a means of conquering still more distant nations. They had never gone any faster in their conquests than they could go safely. They never took a new step until all the land through which they must pass had become Roman land. They bound these conquered peoples to themselves by giving them as large a share in their own political rights as seemed safe for the common liberty. They respected the religion and the private customs of the conquered, requiring only obedience to the public law of Rome, military service, and payment of taxes.

Romanizing of the provinces.

By these cautious and generous methods Rome had extended her government by the time of Christ over all the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean Sea. The Mediterranean had become a "Roman Lake." From that time on, Rome made no more important conquests. In the four hundred years from Augustus to the time our story begins, the enormous empire over which Rome ruled was simply becoming more and more Romanized. The Latin language replaced all the local languages except the Greek. Roman life, with all its refinements and elegancies, was carried into all the provinces. Roman schools taught the youth of at least the western portion of the Empire. We may properly speak of the inhabitants of all this vast territory as "Romans."

Spirit of the Roman Republic.

But this enormous growth, steady and natural as it had been, had not come about without great changes in the government of Rome itself. The earliest feeling of which we have any

distinct record in Roman history is that of intense hatred of the name of "king." The people believed that there had once been kings among them, and that these had been driven out forever; and so bitter was the hatred of their memory that a law was passed making it high treason for any one henceforth to call himself a king of Romans. From that time on, during the whole time of conquest, Rome was a republic, governed by men of her own choosing. These officers, judges in peace and generals in war, were elected by popular vote and served generally but one year. A magnificent machinery of government, such as the world has never seen again, grew up by a natural growth, and was carried on during most of this long period by the best men of the state. Generation after generation the Roman Republic went on, sending out from the centre an endless supply of trained officials whose honor and whose interest were concerned in keeping alive the passion of loyalty which had made this great expansion possible.

Growing indifference of citizens.

But now evils began to be felt. The machinery of government was so perfect that men began to feel somewhat indifferent as to who should manage it. The great mass of citizens, busied with other matters, left the management of public affairs to a few clever men who began to find politics profitable for themselves. The demagogue became the great man of Rome. You will remember the names of the Gracchi, of Marius and Sulla, as men who were aiming at power, either for its own sake or in order to accomplish something which could not be done by regular methods, and who were playing with the fire

Demagogues.

of popular approval or popular hatred. The greatest man in this series of party leaders was **Caius Julius Cæsar.** He may or may not have thought the time had come to throw off the trammels of republicanism and declare himself the permanent head of the state. At all events, a party devoted to the old order of things believed he had such ambitions, and murdered him.

Julius Cæsar.

They fancied that the republic was saved; but things had already gone too far on the way towards a monarchy. The strife of parties went on after the death of Julius, and the survivor of the struggle was his nephew Octavianus, better known to us as **Augustus.** A certain reverence for tradition kept him from reviving the hated name of "king," and led him to choose the familiar word "imperator" (emperor) for his title. This name and another which Augustus adopted, "princeps" (chief), might be used without implying the ruin of the republican forms. The Empire of Augustus was no violent break in the method of government. The administration went on much as before, only that now the powers of the various offices of consul, tribune, pontifex maximus, etc., were assumed by one man. If others were allowed to bear these titles, it was clear that there was but one source of actual power. The offices were not abolished; it was only that the strife of parties could no longer be borne, and men were glad to find comparative peace in the sovereignty of one capable man.

Augustus "Imperator."

And this theory continued for nearly three hundred years. The Roman emperors of this period were, comparatively speaking, popu-

The early Empire popular.

lar rulers. In spite of the detestable personal character of many of them, the government continued to be administered with singular moderation and success. Some writers have not hesitated to call the second century the happiest period in the history of the human race.

284-305. Danger of Rebellion.

The next great change took place under the Emperor **Diocletian**. The greatest danger to the Empire had long been the revolt of able generals in distant provinces, where they were supported by powerful armies, and could only be put down by great expenditure of force. The wonder is that the Empire had not long since been broken up into a score of separate kingdoms. The only thing that had saved it had been that the rebels were ambitious to get the whole Empire, and had thus lost whatever they had gained. Diocletian proposed to avoid this danger for the future by anticipating it. He called upon a brave and capable general named Maximian to share the Empire with him, and voluntarily gave up to him all the lands west of the Adriatic Sea. When this division had been made, Diocletian carried through another yet. The two emperors, calling themselves **Augusti**, named two others as their assistants with the title of **Cæsar**, thus dividing the Roman world into four pretty nearly equal parts.

Diocletian divides the Empire to save it.

Plan of succession.

It seems to have been a part of Diocletian's plan that, after a certain time, the two Augusti should resign their office and make way for the two Cæsars, who in turn should appoint their assistants and, at a suitable time, retire to private life. This would have been a very pretty scheme, but it was against all

human nature. Diocletian himself resigned after twenty years of service, and induced Maximian to do the same, but that was the end of resigning. From that time on every one who came to power was bent upon keeping it as long as he could, and taking away from every one else as much as possible.

The twenty years following the abdication of Diocletian were filled with tremendous struggles for power, which ended again in the rule of one man, **Constantine the Great.** With Diocletian a wholly new idea of the Roman Empire had been declared. The pretence of a popular sovereignty, which for more than a century had been growing steadily weaker, was now definitely given up, and the Roman emperor was made to appear as much as possible like an Eastern despot. He kept himself as far as he could out of sight of his people; he wore the dress of the Orientals; he surrounded himself with a servile company of officials, who helped him to keep up a kind of magnificence utterly hostile to the old Roman spirit. Constantine emphasized these changes by building for himself at the farthest limit of Europe the new city of **Constantinople,** which was to share with Rome the honors of the capital. Henceforth the weight of the Empire was to be in the East, not in Italy.

306-324.

324-337.

The Empire Orientalized.

With Constantine another great change came about. *The Empire became Christian.* The Christian Church, which, as late as the time of Diocletian, had been bitterly persecuted, rose up in a moment into power and splendor. The united Empire made a united Church possible; and even when,

The Empire becomes Christian.

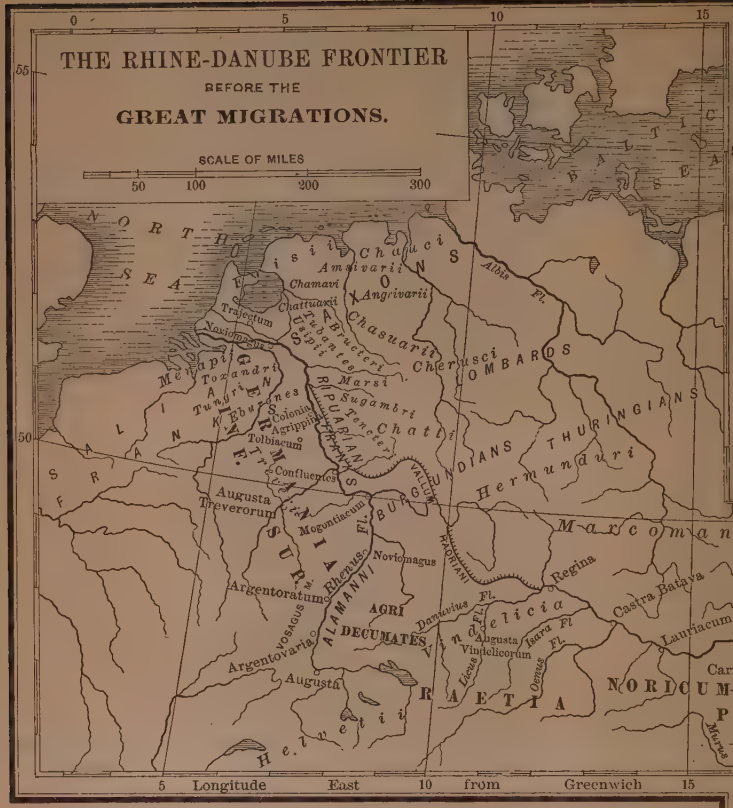
under the sons of Constantine, the Empire again fell apart, the Church was too firmly grounded to fear any attack. Indeed, it was only once more called upon to defend itself. A nephew of Constantine, **Julian**, brought by a series of accidents to the sole government of the Empire, turned all the energy of a powerful mind to the restoration of the ancient Roman religion and the repression of Christianity. He died too early to allow his plans to develop, but his attempt only served to show how strong the hold of Christianity upon the world had come to be.

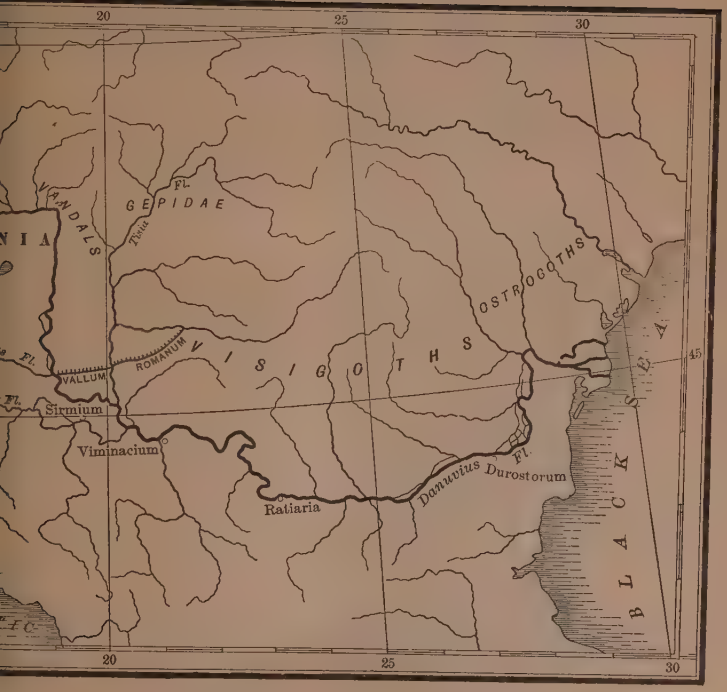
360-362.

Julian was killed in battle, fighting against the Persians, who, many fancied, were the most dangerous enemies of Rome. He had won his fame as a soldier by years of fighting against the Germans of the middle Rhine. While others were troubling themselves about the Persians, Julian is said to have remarked, "*The Goths are quiet just now, but perhaps they will not always be quiet.*" The Persians soon ceased to cause anxiety at Rome, but sixteen years after the death of Julian a German nation, in the great battle of Adrianople, far within the limits of the Empire, completely defeated an imperial army and proclaimed the downfall of the eternal city. In that interval of sixteen years the most important interest of Rome was the defence of the German frontier, and we may now consider with some care the conditions of the two races towards the end of the fourth century after Christ.

Danger from the Germans.

378.


THE RHINE-DANUBE FRONTIER
BEFORE THE
GREAT MIGRATIONS.
SCALE OF MILES
50 100 200 300
0 5 10 15
55
50
Longitude East 10 from Greenwich 15
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
Chauci
Amsivarii
Chamavi
Angrivarii
Chasuarii
Cherusci
Albis Fl.
Traiectum
Chattuarii
Ubii
Sugambri
Marsi
Chatti
Hermunduri
THURINGIANS
LOMBARDS
VANDILIANS
Colonia Agrippina
Tolbiacum
Confluentes
Augusta Treverorum
Mogontiacum
Noviomagus
Argentoratum
Rhenus
Danubius Fl.
AGRI DECUMATES
Vindelicia
Castra Batava
Lauriacum
Augusta Vindelicorum
Isara Fl.
Oenus Fl.
Argentovaria
Augusta
RAETIA
NORICUM
Helvetii
Marus
Limes
Valium
Maximian


20
25
30
45
GEPIDAE
VANDALS
Tisia
Fl.
OSTROGOTHS
VISIGOTHS
ROMANUM
VALLUM
Fl.
Sirmium
Viminacium
Ratiaria
Danubius
Durostorum
Fl.
BLACK SEA

CHAPTER II.

THE TWO RACES.

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enormous work, giving the history of [illegible] nations, with the purpose of illustrating [illegible] the royal powers among them. — W. Scherer: History of German Literature. 2v. N.Y. 1886. — Gostwick and Harrison: Outlines of German Literature. N.Y. 1873. — J. K. Hosmer: A Short History of German Literature. St. Louis.

The river-boundary.

If you will find on the map of Europe the sources of the rivers **Rhine** and **Danube**, you will see that they are very near each other. If, then, you follow the courses of these rivers to their mouths, it will be clear that they form an almost continuous line from the North Sea to the Black Sea. This line was for many hundred years the border between two great races of men. The Romans, or Romanized provincials, lived on the west and south, in what are now France, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, the Danube provinces, Greece and Turkey, also in England and along the whole southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Beyond our line, to the east and north, lived the Germans, along the courses of the rivers Ems, Weser, Elbe, Oder, and Vistula, which flow northward to the North Sea and the Baltic.[1] By the time we begin our study, that is, toward the close of the fourth century after Christ, Germans had also come to live along the Theiss, Dniester, and Dnieper, which flow southward to the Danube and the Black Sea. We shall be occupied now for some time with the dealings

[1] The continuity of the frontier-line was still further marked by a wall of earth and stone, built by the Emperor Hadrian, from near Regensburg on the Danube to near Cologne on the Rhine, inclosing a triangular piece of country called the "Agri Decumates." This land was occupied then by Roman colonists, who were gradually driven out as the Germans advanced.

between these two races. Sometimes we shall find them in open warfare; sometimes, living side by side in apparent harmony. But all the time, in all outward things, the Germans were slowly and surely gaining upon the Romans. They were taking away their lands, destroying many of their cities, and forcing them to become their subjects. And yet during this same time, in all that had to do with the inner life of the nation, they were just as surely being conquered by the Romans. They were learning to live in cities, to read and write, to make better weapons and clothes, to use money, to like fine things, and to live more orderly and peaceful lives.

How the Romans lived.

For, at the time we begin to study about them, you can hardly imagine two peoples more different than were these on opposite sides of the Rhine-Danube frontier. The Romans were living somewhat as we might be living now, if we had never heard of steam-engines or gunpowder. They had great and beautiful cities, filled with everything to please the taste, with statues and pictures, magnificent public and private buildings, with great stone circuses where thousands of people spent a day or two every week watching athletic sports. Broad and smooth roads connected these cities, and made it easy for the one or two men who governed all this mighty empire to send a message with wonderful swiftness from Rome or Constantinople to the borders of Scotland or of Persia.[1]

[1] The Emperor Tiberius travelled, to visit his brother Drusus, from Pavia to beyond the German frontier, nearly two hundred miles, in twenty-four hours. The news of the murder of the Emperor Maximian was brought from Aquileia to Rome in four days, an average journey by land of about one hundred and thirty miles a day.

How the Germans lived.

The Germans, on the other hand, were living rather better than the best of the North American Indians lived when white men first came to our country. They had no cities, but lived in rude villages with no strong walls to keep out enemies. They got their living mainly by hunting and fishing.

What little agriculture they had was chiefly managed by women. They raised what was needed to carry them through one winter, but had not learned the value of money, which helps men to exchange what they do not need for themselves for other things which they want. Their dress was of skins or rude cloths. They had no one ruler like the Roman Emperor, but were broken up into many tribes, each of which had its own leaders; not hereditary kings, like those of Europe to-day, but chosen by the people. War and hunting were their only honorable occupations.

Why we study about the Germans.

Of these two races, the wild, barbarian Germans are far more interesting to us than the elegant, civilized Romans, partly because they were to be the conquerors in the great struggle, but also because those among them who were to break the line of the Rhine and Danube were own cousins of those others who were to cross the sea and settle in England, and whom we are proud to call our ancestors; cousins, also, of those others yet who much later sailed from the same shores of the North Sea, went to school for a few generations to their more civilized relatives in Normandy, and then crossed over to England to help in the making of that great people from which we have sprung.

We are fortunate in having preserved to us an ac-

count of the Germans, written by a Roman near the end of the first century. This little book of the Roman Tacitus was evidently written to show his own countrymen how much better in many ways the Germans were than themselves, and to warn them of the dangers which they might expect if they did not learn some lessons from the despised barbarian. By noticing what things about the Germans seemed most remarkable to Tacitus and to other much later writers, we can get a clearer idea of the great differences between the two races.

The "Germania" of Tacitus.

All speak of the immense size of the Germans, and skeletons found recently in ancient graves prove that they were indeed a race of giants. Then their "fierce blue eyes" and blonde or "red" hair served to make them still more terrible to the smaller, darker, and gentler Roman. The life of the forest had been for centuries doing its work of building up these warriors to be capable of bearing the cold, patient of fatigue, and, above all, brave beyond any known people of the earth. War was their delight. Again and again the Roman writers speak of the fury with which they rushed into the battle, of their indifference to wounds, and even of the gladness with which they met the death which was to unite them with Odin in the joys of the hereafter.

A race of giants.

Then their family life was pure. "Almost alone among barbarians," says Tacitus, "they are content with one wife." The husband whose wife was unfaithful cut off her hair, expelled her from his house, and flogged her naked through the whole village. "No one in Germany laughs at vice, nor is

Family purity.

it the fashion to corrupt and be corrupted." "Good habits are here more effectual than good laws elsewhere." On the other hand, they had the vices of their condition. They were so immoderately fond of drinking that it was counted no disgrace to spend a whole day and night over their cups. Gambling, too, had such charms for them that they would even stake their liberty on the game, but the man who got a slave by such means was glad to sell him out of sight as fast as possible for very shame.

Personal military service.

Still more singular must their military arrangements have seemed to the Romans, who were used to the strict control of the state over the service of every man. The Germans, having, as we have seen, no great single state like that of the Romans, were accustomed to serve some leader who had the name of being a brave and successful captain. They would join such a man in groups of tens or hundreds, or it might be of thousands, and bind themselves to him by an oath. He in turn was bound to lead them faithfully, and to give them a fair share of the plunder. If for a long time there was no war going on at home, the chief and his followers would go where there was a war, and take service on one side or the other. Of course a war against the Romans was always the most popular. This loose military organization will explain why it is that we so often see groups of Germans of very different names fighting side by side at one moment, and at the next perhaps engaged on opposite sides in a new conflict. It will explain, also, why the Germans were able to enter so freely into the service of the Roman government. It will further help us to understand the

great importance of individual leaders in all the enterprises of the Germans. The leader held his place only so long as he kept up his reputation for bravery and success, and thus the fighting men of a tribe were always sure of a leader worthy of their own courage and devotion. You can see what an immense advantage this gave them over the Roman army, which had little to say in the choice of its own leaders, and was obliged to wait for orders from a government hundreds of miles away which might at that moment have interests at heart that did not in the least concern the men of the legions.

But now if we turn the page and read in the Roman writers of the third and fourth centuries the account of the life going on all over the great Roman Empire, we shall be shocked at the terrible difference. One has some idea of the wickedness of life in the great cities of the world to-day, but we should have to multiply that many times to get any conception of the dreadful state of Roman morals at the time when the Germans began to threaten the frontier. Perhaps our picture of the time will be clear enough if we add to all the temptations of modern life, — to immoderate wealth, desire for amusement, lack of religious principle, weakening of home attachments, — the crowning evil of human slavery. The Roman slave was not the dull and degraded savage whom we associate with the word "slave," but he might be a man, in all ways the superior of his master; and the absolute control over the life and happiness of such a human being must have been far more brutalizing than if the owner could really have

Roman immorality.

Slavery.

felt that the slave was only a step above the brute. With these slavish ministers to every want the Roman sank into the wretched though splendid existence which horrifies us in every writer from Juvenal to Sidonius.

Why the Germans conquered Rome.

The Germans in the fourth century were, we have said, nearly as barbarous as the American Indian; but there was one great difference between these two. The German had the capacity to learn; the Indian had not. The Indian, coming into contact with the civilized man, learned of him only his vices. The German, meeting the Roman, learned of him how to govern, how to read and write, to cultivate the ground, to build cities, and to live in them, to put aside his old religion, and to take that of the conquered Roman. One wonders why the great Roman emperor did not call out a mighty army as he had done in the old days, and hold the line of the two rivers so that not a German should set foot across it. The fact is, that this very elegant and luxurious life of the Romans had made them unable to defend themselves. Once Roman armies had conquered the civilized world; but now native-born Romans enjoyed life so much in their theatres, their circuses, their baths, and their beautiful villas in the country, or at the seashore, that they did not care to go into the army any more. They much preferred to pay money to hire soldiers to do the fighting for them; and when a nation comes to that, it may begin to say farewell to its greatness.

Now the best soldiers to be hired were our Germans. They did not have to ask leave of any rulers; often they came, rulers and all, across the border, and let themselves for money to the Roman generals. It mat-

tered little if they were then employed to fight against their own brothers. They earned their pay, saw the world, and went home to fill the ears and the eyes of their kinsmen with the wonderful story and the precious spoils of Rome. Or, they stayed in the army, and rose to high position, so that from the fourth century on we find the very highest posts in the army and in civil life filled by men whose fathers had lived the life of the German barbarian.

How the Germans learned about Rome.

There was one other barrier which might have done more than the river-line to hold the two races apart,—the difference of religion. But long before the frontier was broken this barrier gave way. By the end of the fourth century those of the Germans who lived nearest the border had received the gentle message of the Gospel and had become, after a fashion, Christians. Just how this work was accomplished we do not know. Only one name has come down to us out of the darkness, that of Ulfilas, a West-Goth, who lived early in this century and who invented an alphabet, made a written language for his people, and gave them thus the Bible in their own tongue, exactly as our own John Eliot gave the Bible to the Indians of North America. A fragmentary copy of this Bible, written in silver letters on scarlet parchment, is kept in the library of the university of Upsala, in Sweden. This community of religion helped to draw the two races nearer to each other.

The two races had the same religion.

The same gradual approach was helped along by commercial dealings. Though not as yet a trading people themselves, the Germans had

Commercial dealings.

in time come to want many of the good things of the Romans, such as wine, ornaments, arms, spices, and finer clothing. The Roman traders who came to them over the border had brought far more than the packs on their backs. They, too, had carried the story of Rome, of fertile lands, of boundless wealth, and of men who no longer cared to fight in defence of their treasures. The same story came over the rivers by the lips of Roman prisoners taken in the border-warfare, which was always going on. So you will see that everything was tending to draw the thoughts and hopes of these German warriors toward the south. There, once fairly beyond the rivers, they might hope for endless plunder, for lands enough, and for slaves, who, being unfit for war, were good for nothing but to cultivate the land, while they, the conquerors, should have all the pleasure and glory of fighting, and in peace should live lives of ease and plenty.

Increase of population.

But besides these attractions there were two other causes which were pressing the Germans steadily southward. One of these was increase of population. So long as a nation lives mainly by hunting and grazing, it needs an immense quantity of land. If it does not have this, the game will get scarce, the rivers will be fished out, and the people must move or starve. We have reason to believe that the Germans in the fourth century were increasing rapidly in numbers, and as this increase went on, their lands were not large enough to support them. One of two things they must do, either clear and cultivate their own rough country or take the lands which the industry of the Romans had made ready for them. A race of fresh and vigorous fighting men could not hesitate; they would take their neighbors' land.

The second cause was a pressure from behind. We shall speak of this at some length by and by, and need to remember for the present only that to the east and north of the Germans were immense masses of other and still ruder barbarians, Slavs and men of the great Tartar race, who were pushing upon them from time to time with great violence, and were only waiting for them to move, to press on and occupy the lands they left empty.

Pressure from behind.

Thus all these forces were acting at once, drawing and pushing the Germans towards the south and west. The time had come when the frontier must be broken.

375.

CHAPTER III.

THE BREAKING OF THE FRONTIER BY THE VISIGOTHS

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The Roman offensive.

IT would be wrong to suppose that this attack had not been long expected by the Roman government. For nearly four hundred years it had strained every nerve, first to conquer the Germans

on their own soil as it had conquered so many another nation, and then to hold the frontier against ever-repeated barbarian attacks. During the reign of Augustus, several expeditions were made across the lower Rhine; but this foreign attack only served to draw together the scattered forces of the Germans, who under their great leader, Hermann, so utterly defeated the Roman armies in the great battle of the Teutoburg Forest, that, in spite of partial successes, no Roman armed force could succeed in getting a permanent hold upon the north of Germany. The attempt was given up, and when next we find the two races at war, it is the Germans who make the attack, and in the terrible war of the Marcomanni on the upper Danube put the enormous resources of the great Empire of Marcus Aurelius to the most terrible test. An advantageous peace alone saved the Danube frontier. For another century the same story was repeated. Rapid expeditions of German warriors swept over the country, even down into Italy and through the midst of Gaul. They were driven back and held in check only by the aid of their own countrymen serving with the Roman legions, or settled near the frontier as "allies" of the Empire. Nothing but a lack of union among themselves prevented them even then from occupying permanently the land of Rome. It is wonderful to see how, even as late as this, the greater discipline and better organization of the Roman army, and the more complete system of the Roman government, prevailed against the superior brute force, but less intelligent leadership of the Germans.

31 B.C. to 14 A.D.

9 A.D.

Changed to defensive.

166–180.

Let us now look at the names and positions of the various German peoples just before the final break of the frontier. They had formerly been broken up into a vast multitude of petty tribes, living each for itself; but now, ever since the first great attack of the Romans, these tribes had been uniting into great confederations.[1] In the northeast, beyond the line of the Elbe and Saale, where once Germanic peoples had lived, a new race, the Slavs, had come in, while the former occupants had moved toward the south, where we shall soon find them. In the northwest, along the river mouths, were the Saxons, our nearest relatives, least influenced by the name of Rome, and in fact, never as a nation, to leave this their original home. Westward along the lower Rhine were the Franks, the future conquerors of Gaul, destined to be the one race which in time was to prevail over all the rest, and to give law and order to the continent of Europe. Above the Franks, in the Rhine valley, were the Alemanni (All-men), a name showing, perhaps, the fact that they were a mixture of many tribes. They disappeared as a nation quite early in the conflict with the Franks, but curiously enough gave to the inhabitants of Gaul the name by which to this day the French call all Germans (Allemands). East of the Alemanni were remnants of the peoples which had fought against Marcus Aurelius, the Marcomanni and Quadi, out of whom as a nucleus the great nation of the Bavarians was to grow. Following the Danube line still to the eastward, we find

Situation of the German nations.

Saxons.

Franks.

Alemanni.

Bavarians.

[1] See Map I.

the West-Goths (Visigoths), and beyond them again, to the northeast, their brethren the East-Goths (Ostrogoths), stretching out into the valley of the Don. Visigoths. Ostrogoths.

These Goths, especially the western branch, had for a century been the most dangerous enemies of Rome. They had made numerous expeditions both by land and sea against the eastern Roman provinces, and had brought the government to such a pass that the Emperor Aurelian had been glad to buy them off from further ravages by giving up to them the great province of Dacia, north of the Danube. The Goths had already made a long and difficult journey on the way to Rome. We first hear of them, perhaps three centuries before, near the mouth of the Vistula, and now we find them near the mouth of the Danube. Of the journey we know little. They themselves believed that they had once come over from Sweden in three ships, — the West-Goths first, the East-Goths next, and some time after, the Gepidæ (tardy ones), a closely related tribe. The story is not incredible, if we are willing to multiply the ships a little, and if we remember that to get to Scandinavia they must first have made the same long journey to the northwest which all their Germanic brethren had made. The journey of the Goths. 270–275.

At all events, we may believe that the whole nation had moved, perhaps driven by enemies, perhaps in search of new pasture-lands for their cattle, up the valleys of the northward-flowing and down the valleys of the southward-flowing rivers until they came near the Black Sea, and had then spread out westward until they reached the positions we have What a "migration" was like.

just described. It is hard for us, accustomed to permanent ways of living, to imagine what such a great migration was like; but it must be remembered that these people had no property but such as they could drive before them or carry upon their rude wagons. Their home was the forest and the plain; the river valley was their highway and their guide. Their progress from the Baltic to the Euxine was probably very slow. Perhaps not oftener than once in the life of each man would the nation leave its hunting-grounds for new ones. Later we shall see them moving much more rapidly.

The pressure of the Huns.

For about a century after the Emperor Aurelian had given the province of Dacia to the West-Goths they had lived on comparatively good terms with their Roman neighbors and had come to lead more settled lives. But now, about the year 375, a new difficulty arose. A new people, as yet unknown in Europe, suddenly forced the Goths to come into closer contact with Rome. The Huns were a people, surely not of German stock, nor even of the Aryan race. For want of a better term we will call them "Turanians." They came from the north of Asia, beyond the great wall of China, passed through the "gateway of the nations" between the Caspian Sea and the Ural Mountains, and fell upon the distant settlements of the East-Goths. They were frightful little men, living almost wholly on horseback, sweeping over the country like a whirlwind and leaving only destruction behind them. They had the olive skins of the Orientals, their hair was worn long and tied into a knot behind. Their noses were so much turned up that the frightened Romans fancied they had nothing but two

375.

holes in the middle of their faces. They seemed hardly to deserve the name of human beings; nothing could resist them. The East-Goths surrendered and were forced to join the Huns in their attack upon the West-Goths.

These latter in their despair begged the Roman Emperor Valens to give them shelter, and were allowed to come over and settle in Mœsia. It was understood that the Romans should furnish them with weapons and supplies, for which they should pay by defending the river against any new attack. The West-Goths seem to have kept their part of the agreement, but the Roman officers were careless in their treatment of the barbarians. One trouble led to another, until finally the Germans broke out into open revolt. The Emperor Valens, without waiting for any help from the West, gave battle near Adrianople, in Thrace, and was utterly defeated. He himself was killed in the retreat, and the Visigoths found themselves suddenly within the Empire, with no army to oppose them, and, as it seemed, the promise of endless plunder.

The West-Goths cross the Danube.

Battle of Adrianople. 378.

The battle of Adrianople was one of the decisive battles of the world. It taught the Germans that they could beat the legions in open fight, and that henceforth it was for them to name the price of peace. It broke once for all the Rhine-Danube frontier. Swarms of fighting men, Ostrogoths as well as Visigoths, came pouring into the Empire. At the death of Valens, who had been the ruler of the East, his nephew Gratian was left as ruler of the West. He had sense enough to see that he could not hope to gov-

Effects of the battle.

ern the whole of the vast Roman Empire, and called upon **Theodosius**, a Spaniard and a man of well-proven ability, to take the government of the East. The political genius of Theodosius saved the Empire from ruin. He saw that it was hopeless to think of driving out the Germans, and that the best way to manage them was to keep them quarrelling with each other. He made treaties by which the Visigoths were given lands in Thrace, and the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, between the Mur and the Danube. They were to receive regular pay in money and were to defend the frontier. Their vanity was tickled with the fine-sounding name of "allies" (*Foederati*), and their leaders were placed in the highest positions in the state. The confidential minister of Theodosius was a German, a Vandal named Stilicho, son of a chieftain who had served with his "chestnut-haired squadrons" in the armies of Valens. But the Gothic warriors were not long to be bound with paper chains. There were always some among them who despised the service of Rome and longed to be masters instead of servants. This restless ambition for conquest brought to the front the greatest leader of the Visigothic name, the famous **Alaric**. With him for their leader the nation took up its march once more, with the fixed purpose of finding lands in the very heart of the Empire, where they might settle once for all. Their taste of Roman ways seems only to have made them want more, and they were already losing something of the wildness they had brought from their northern home. The great Theodosius died just as Alaric was chosen leader of

Theodosius, 379-395.

Alaric, king of the Visigoths.

395-410.

Division of the Empire.

395.

the Western Goths. His empire was divided between his two sons, Arcadius in the East, and Honorius in the West, and was never again to be united under one hand. The sons were a wretched pair. With ruin staring him in the face, Honorius shut himself up in Ravenna and left the defence of the empire to Stilicho.

Alaric at first fixed his attention upon Greece, and moved his army southward into the centre of the Peloponnesus. Arcadius, the Eastern Emperor, had no force sufficient to resist the assault, and Greece was only saved by a brilliant exploit of Stilicho, who crossed the Adriatic Sea and shut Alaric up within the province of Arcadia. He dared not risk a battle, however, and was glad to purchase the retreat of Alaric by a renewed commission as defender of Illyria. Nothing could have been better for Alaric. He gave up Greece only to be quartered in a rich and defenceless province close upon the borders of Italy. Every step of the Visigothic conquerors shows them to be emerging more and more from the condition of mere fighters, and becoming, in a truer sense of the word, a nation.

Alaric in Greece.

In Illyria.

Their new quarters sufficed for them only about three years. Again the nation in arms moved westward into the rich valley of the Po. The Empire was now fully alarmed. From all the most distant frontiers the legions were summoned in hot haste to Rome, and formed by Stilicho into a great army with which he waited for Alaric near Pollentia, on the river Tanarus. A terrific battle was fought here, in which Alaric was, if not badly beaten, at least turned back in his career. He

400.

Defeated at Pollentia, 402.

was driven out of Italy, and sought shelter in Pannonia. The government actually believed that the barbarians were disposed of forever. It had no conception of the masses of men waiting their opportunity to pour through the breach of the defenceless frontier. Honorius kept on amusing himself at Ravenna. Until now he had shown for Stilicho the respect and confidence due to the saviour of Rome. Stilicho had married the niece and adopted daughter of Theodosius, and had given his own two daughters successively in marriage to Honorius. It seemed as if his fortunes were bound up with the very life of the imperial family. But now, at the very moment when the only man who could hold a Roman army against the barbarians was more needed than ever, the mad folly which was destroying the Empire more surely than her outward enemies, drove Honorius to cause the murder of his faithful servant. Some jealous rival had made him believe that so much power was dangerous to his tottering throne.

Murder of Stilicho, 408.

Alaric, away up in Illyria, knew better how to value the only man who had ever defeated him. The death of Stilicho was the signal for a new invasion. The Gothic leader, Christian though he was, believed himself to be in the hands of Destiny. A voice, it was said, had come to him out of a sacred grove, saying, "*penetrabis ad urbem*," "you will reach the city," and he knew that the "city" could be none other than Rome. The Goths, strengthened by their six years of rest, swept rapidly southward past Ravenna, where Honorius still kept his useless self, marched straight to Rome, and began a regular siege. It was

Alaric marches on Rome.

the first time for eight hundred years that Rome had seen a foreign enemy before her walls. The citizens could not yet believe that the holy city was in danger. Not until hunger and pestilence began to do their awful work did they send to ask terms of Alaric. First siege of Rome.

"Give me all your gold, all your silver, all your movable property, and all your barbarian slaves, or the siege goes on." "What, then, will you leave us?" "Your lives."

But perhaps Alaric was only in a sort of grim humor, making fun of the half-starved ambassadors. He finally agreed to accept a fixed sum in gold, silver, silken tunics, scarlet hides, and pepper, together with ample lands in the North of Italy. The mad young emperor at Ravenna, putting on a show of courage when it was too late, refused to agree to these terms. Alaric promptly renewed the siege, but this time in quite a different fashion. It is as if a strange awe at the name of Rome held him back from actual violence. He was in constant negotiation with the citizens, and even went so far as to set up and maintain for a few months a rival emperor. He now proposed still more moderate terms, which Honorius again refused, and the third assault on Rome began. A vigorous attack made a breach in the walls, and the city was in the hands of the enemy. It is curious to see how in the course of his long negotiations with the Romans, Alaric had come to be half a Roman himself. He is no longer the mere barbarian chieftain, eager only for a fight, and careless of the future. He is the conqueror of Rome, and feels him- Second siege. Sack of Rome. 410.

self somehow to be thus a part of the wonderful civilization he sees about him. He commands his followers to respect the churches and their property. We have no reason to believe that the buildings of the city suffered very greatly. What the Germans wanted was movable plunder, and, laden with this, they set out for the South of Italy. Rome after all these months of famine and pestilence was anything but an agreeable residence.

Alaric's plans.

Besides, the Germans had not yet learned to live in cities. Their object, as shown by the frequent treaties, was to secure a permanent home when they should find a country suited to their mind. The later historian of their race says, that Alaric meant to conquer Sicily, and sail over to Africa. Certainly he gathered ships at Rhegium, and is said to have been prevented only by a storm from crossing to Messina.

His death.

Before he could renew his preparations he died suddenly, the first great barbarian victim to the deadly climate of Italy, which was to be her best defence against the Northern invader. The Visigoths forced their Roman captives to turn the channel of the river Busentum, dug their leader's grave in the dry bed of the stream, let the waters flow back, and murdered all who had done the work, that the burial-place of Alaric might forever remain a mystery.

Saint Augustine on the "City of God."

The capture of Rome made a deep impression upon the men of that day. They had been so accustomed to think of it as a sacred place, that the fall of the city seemed to them like the end of the world. Some, either honest Pagans or

luke-warm Christians, said that it was because the ancient gods had been dishonored, and were thus revenging themselves. It was in answer to such people that the great Saint Augustine, bishop of Hippo, in Africa, wrote his famous book "The City of God," in which he tried to prove that the great calamity was not due to Christianity, but, that being only a city of this world, Rome must fall; while the true city of God should abide forever.

Honorius and Rome.

How much the Emperor Honorius cared for Rome we may judge from a story which, whether true or not, shows what was thought of him at the time. An officer rushed into his presence, and told him that Rome had perished. "What!" cried the Emperor, "she was feeding from my hand an hour ago." He was much relieved when told that it was not his favorite hen "Roma," but only the capital of his empire that had perished.

The West-Goths move on into Spain,

Alaric is to be remembered as the man who pointed out the way which so many others of his race were to follow. He was a great military genius, whose equal was not found among the many leaders who built upon his plans. We may believe that upon this last expedition the great bulk of the property of the Visigoths had been left behind with the women and children somewhere in the Alpine country, and it may have been this which led them now to give up the African plan, and under the lead of Adolf, brother-in-law of Alaric, to march out of Italy as they had come in.

More and more the distinction between Roman and barbarian disappears. The sister of Honorius, the beau-

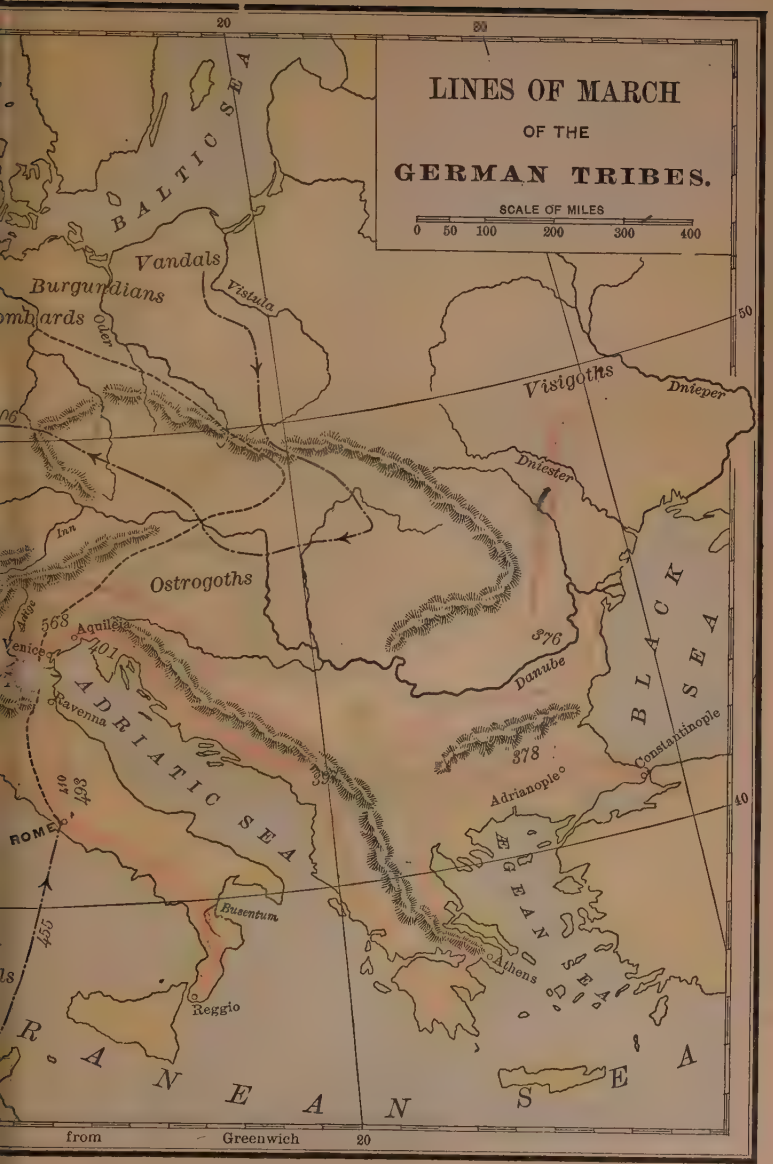
tiful and learned Placidia, taken captive in Rome, marries the Gothic leader. Adolf brings the Visigoths back into the service of the Empire. They pass over into Gaul, and thence across the Pyrenees into Spain. Already parts of various German tribes had taken the same road, and were helping themselves to the lands of the Empire on both sides of the mountains. Under Wallia, the successor of Adolf, the Visigoths, serving as the allies of Rome, subdued these rival invaders, and brought back the country for a time to the Roman allegiance.

412. 414.

and found a permanent kingdom.

The price of this service was a new and final grant of land in Spain and the South of Gaul, extending from the river Loire beyond the Pyrenees and over the greater part of the peninsula. Here the wanderings of the Visigoths came to an end. They made use of what they had learned from Rome to found a great and prosperous kingdom with Toulouse as its capital. It was to last entire until the beginning of the sixth century, when the growth of the all-conquering Franks on the northern border reduced its Gallic portion to a Frankish province. The Spanish portion kept up an independent life until in the early part of the eighth century the storm of the Mohammedan invasion from the south swept it out of existence. With the Visigothic occupation Spain and Southern France were lost to Rome forever. We must now leave these pioneers of the German invasion and turn to the fortunes of some of their kinsmen who were seeking in the same way lands, wealth, and power.

10
0
50
40
NORTH SEA
Angles c. 500
Jutes and Saxons 449
Ems
Rhine
Scheldt
Colo
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Soissons
486
Seine
Paris
Loire
Voville
507
BAY OF BISCAY
Garonne
404
443
Besançon
Poitiers
Toulouse
414
418
Rhone
400
Duero
Ebro
Tagus
417
Guadana
Guadalquivir
423
MEDITE
Hipp
Longitude West 0 Longitude East


LINES OF MARCH
OF THE
GERMAN TRIBES.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
20
30
50
40
BALTIC SEA
Vandals
Burgundians
Vistula
Visigoths
Dnieper
Dniester
Inn
Ostrogoths
568
Aquileia
Venice
401
Ravenna
ADRIATIC SEA
376
Danube
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
378
Adrianople
ROME
476
455
Busentum
Reggio
Athens
AEGEAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
from Greenwich 20

CHAPTER IV.

THE VANDALS AND BURGUNDIANS.

AUTHORITIES: — Procopius: *de bello Vandalico*, in two books. An account of the conquest of the Vandals by Justinian, with a long introductory narrative of the foundation of the kingdom and the career of Gaiseric. — Victor Vitensis: *historia persecutionis Africanae*. Contemporary account of the Arian persecution under Gaiseric (*c.* 479).

MODERN WORKS: — As above.

You remember that the Roman armies which met and turned back the first assault of Alaric in Italy, were a group of soldiers hastily called in from their posts all along the historic line of the Rhine and Danube. Thus the frontier was left unguarded, and troop after troop of the barbarians came now pouring into the Empire. We must follow them all, but only such as founded states, and so helped in the making of modern Europe.

From the Goths, along the Baltic shore, we first hear of the **Vandals**, and can trace them with some clearness as they move by slow stages in a long southern and then western course. At the time of the battle of Adrianople they were in Pannonia, on the Danube, where they had long been stationed as faithful allies and defenders of the Empire. The example of Alaric set them in motion. They moved rapidly to the northwest, carrying with them their kinsmen, the **Suevi**, and a large, un-German nation, the **Alani**. They crossed

The journey of the Vandals

378.

406.

the border again near Mainz (Mayence), and made a long circuit through the North of Gaul, and then pressed steadily southward into Spain. Her we have already referred to them as thos kinsmen whom the Visigoths found and partially conquered in the name of Rome. Thus far the Vandal had not played a very prominent part. Where we hea of them fighting they generally got the worst of it. Bu now, after the Visigoths had brought Spain into a com paratively peaceful condition, their great chance came

into Spain.

You will see by the map how easy it is t cross from Spain to Africa, so easy that n power has ever held the one without wantin the other as well. Africa was a very rich grain-producin country, and was often called the "granary of Rome," because Italy was incapable of raising grain enough t feed itself. The plan which Alaric had failed to carr out was to be taken up by the Vandals of Spain. The are said to have been "invited" by a Roman officer ou of revenge for some injury received from his government That the invitation did not need to be very pressing we may judge from the rest of the story: that before the Vandals had got very far on their journey the officer repented, and would gladly have stopped them, but found it was too late. The Vandals, under their greatest leader **Gaiseric** (Genseric), overran the provinces of Mauretania and Numidia, and began the siege of the fortress of Hippo.

They cross to Africa, 429.

While the siege was going on, Saint Augustine, then an aged man, was at his post, writing his last work and comforting the multitude of other bishops who had flocked into the city from

Saint Augustine in Hippo.

.e desolated provinces. He died early in the siege. ippo resisted valiantly, but was finally given 430.
o to Gaiseric by the Roman government
n condition that he would stop where he was and ake no further conquest in Africa. Of course the romise was given and broken. Just ten years from ie time when they had left the shores of Spain, the Vandals entered Carthage, and were thus mas- 439.
ers of the whole African province. Almost
once we find this people, who for generations had ot caught sight of the sea, becoming a peo- The Vandals rule the sea.
le of sailors. Perhaps they were only going
ack to a mode of life which their ancestors ad followed upon the shores of the Baltic. Again, fter an interval of six hundred years, Carthage became he capital of a great seafaring and fighting people. The Vandals became a race of bold and successful pirates, putting out in their light vessels, and running up on the hores of Italy, or Gaul, or Greece, wherever they saw a hance for plunder. The story goes that Gaiseric, set- ing out on one of these expeditions, was asked by his ilot which way he should steer. "Wherever there are eople with whom God is angry," was the answer. At ome we find the Vandals settling to an orderly life, dividing the lands of the Romans among themselves, nd losing, just as the Visigoths had done, much of heir rudeness, by contact with Roman civilization. But they were a common terror to all the dwellers on he Mediterranean, and have left such a sorry name in istory that when we want to speak of peo- "Vandal- ism."
ple plundering and destroying without any
eal political purpose, we call that "Vandalism."

We can describe only one of these pirate raids. In the year 455 a bitter quarrel in that wretched imperial family of which Honorius had been a fair specimen, led the Empress Eudoxia to send word to Gaiseric that he would greatly oblige her if he would bring over his Vandals and plunder the city of Rome. The Vandals came and spent a delightful fortnight in hunting out and carrying off every valuable thing they could lay their hands on. So far as we know, they did not destroy buildings any more than Alaric's Visigoths had done; but we are certain that they did carry away with them hundreds of Roman citizens to serve them as slaves. You will understand how low Rome had sunk when all this could happen without a single blow being struck in her defence. Only the venerable Bishop **Leo** had gone out alone and unarmed to meet the pirate king, and to ask of him as favorable terms as possible for the defenceless city. The Vandal kingdom in Africa was to last after this about eighty years, until it should be conquered by the armies of the Roman emperor, **Justinian**, a successor of Arcadius, the son of Theodosius.

The Vandals sack Rome, **455.**

534.

We are fortunate in knowing pretty nearly how large the Vandal nation was at the time it left the shores of Spain. Probably about one hundred thousand souls, which means an army of not more than twenty or twenty-five thousand fighting men, had made this great conquest over many times their number of Romans. So we see that it was not numbers, but bravery, that was bringing Rome down from her lofty height.

Numbers of the Vandals.

The Burgundians. Close neighbors of the Vandals and the Goths in the marshes of the lower Vistula, the Burgundians moved with them on their journey southward. We hear of them on the Rhine frontier near the end of the third century, engaged in war with the Emperor Probus. Early in the fifth century they received a grant of land from the Emperor Honorius, and seem to have begun their settled life in the vicinity of the city of Worms. From here they began to spread themselves out westward, and rapidly overran the fertile valleys of the Rhone and Saône. This happened not long after the Visigoths had taken possession of the southwestern part of Gaul, and before the Franks had begun their advance beyond the Somme.

Settlement in Gaul, 413.

From that day to this these valleys have been known as the country of Burgundy. The people had taken on the Arian form of Christianity at just about the time of their occupation, and within two generations had found it necessary to put their laws into a written shape. The most famous man of the race is the king **Gundobald**, under whom the laws were written. In his time, also, the first struggles with the victorious Franks were beginning, in the course of which the Burgundian kingdom was entirely broken up and became a Frankish province. A further result of this conflict was that the Burgundians were led to change their form of religious belief, and became devoted Catholics.

Conquered by Franks, 534.

Hardly any of the Germanic tribes had a shorter independent life than the Burgundians, and yet no other has left so strong an impress of itself upon the

traditions of the German race. You know that those wonderful poems, the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, put into writing at a time when the Greek nation had reached a high point of civilization, describe events which happened away back so far that there is no historical knowledge of them whatever, and that long before these poems were written down they were sung by wandering minstrels through all the lands of Greece. The same thing happened in Germany. Long after the time we are now studying, there appeared in written form several long poems, not unlike the Iliad and Odyssey, describing events of which the memory had only been preserved by word of mouth. The most famous of these poems is the Song of the Nibelungen, and it is among the Burgundians that the events described are said to have occurred. It is clear that, by the time the songs were written, the knowledge of the differences of race had almost disappeared. Burgundians, Ostrogoths, Franks, and even Huns are all treated as if they were the same sort of people, but still it is equally clear that the main interest of the story centres about the people of the Burgundians.

Burgundians in legend.

11th and 12th centuries.

A further value of the Burgundian history for us is in the light thrown by its laws upon the dealings of the Germanic conquerors with their Roman subjects. Hardly anywhere was the contrast greater or the necessity of making the laws of the two peoples act harmoniously more evident. We shall come to this point again in the chapter on the Germanic laws.

Burgundian laws.

CHAPTER V.

THE INVASION OF THE HUNS.

AUTHORITIES: — References in Ammianus, etc. — Priscus: Account of his embassy to the court of Attila, a fragment. — Jordanes, from Cassiodorus. — Apollinaris Sidonius, poet in Gaul; his letters are especially valuable for description of life at the time of Attila.

MODERN WORKS: — See above, especially Hodgkin. Bk. II. — Scheffel: Ekkehard, trans. in the "Seaside Library"; describes a Hungarian invasion of the tenth century, which must have been much like those of the Huns in the fifth.

IT must be remembered that the **Huns** were not a German people, but were far more nearly related to the present Turks than to ourselves. We must speak of them here in order to understand the movements of the German races in which they were often a very important agency. We have already seen them just emerging from the deserts of Asia, and driving the Gothic people into conflict with Rome. For a number of years they hover like a distant cloud about the frontiers of the Empire. The excited imagination of the Roman writers described them as the offspring of demons. Their horrid appearance, their filthy habits, their swiftness of motion, their mode of fighting, all combined to give them a most uncanny reputation. They seem to have had not the least knowledge of agriculture, but to have been wholly a grazing, hunting, and wandering (nomad) people.

The terror of the Hun.

378.

The Huns were at first generally on friendly terms with Rome and were willing to serve as her defenders against her German enemies. It is not until these Germans have passed on over the border and found homes within the Empire, that the new-comers enter into closer relations with the Roman government. They take on at once a tone of insolence which marks all their future dealings, and which may go far to explain their astonishing effect upon both barbarian and Roman. When **Attila** became their leader, the main body of the people was living in what is now Austria and Hungary, but their power was felt so far beyond that incredible stories were spread abroad of the size of Attila's kingdom.

The Huns under Attila.

433.

Certain it is that this wild man of the steppes began to have dreams of a great empire like that of Rome. He made for himself a capital somewhere near Pesth, on the Danube, and made terms with Rome as with an inferior power. The emperors were glad to buy off this most dangerous neighbor by an enormous annual tribute. A Roman princess, Honoria, daughter of Placidia, in a fit of passionate anger, sent a ring to Attila, asking to be considered as his promised wife. Think with what horror a daughter of Queen Victoria would look upon a Bedouin chief as a possible husband, and you will have some idea of how low the court of Rome had fallen.

For a few years longer Attila was content to strengthen his hold upon the scattered German tribes which had not yet moved to their final settlement. He was thus able to appear, just as our Anglo-Saxon forefathers were setting out for England, at the head of an enormous army made

The army of Attila.

up of Huns, East-Goths, and many other Germanic troops, ready to follow the leader who seemed most likely to lead them to glory and to wealth. **449.**

The West-Goths had been settled for more than a generation in the South of Gaul. In the North and East of that country there was still a shadow of Roman power under a brave and skilful general, Aëtius, the last great man of the Western Empire. It was against this Roman remnant about the cities of Orleans and Soissons that Attila aimed his blow. He tried his best to get the Visigoths to join him, but the arguments of Aëtius were stronger, and the Visigoths, once the enemies, now became the firm allies, of Rome. They marched to the north under their aged king, Theodoric, carrying with them also a band of Alani, who had been settled near Valencia, on the river Rhone. Other German troops joined with them. A sense of common danger seemed to be drawing all these scattered fragments of nations into one or the other of these mighty armies which were forming for one of the most terrible conflicts the world has ever seen.

The army of Aëtius.

Attila came across the Rhine into what is now Belgium, and then turned toward the south, destroying all that stood in his way. Paris, then a little village on an island in the Seine, was not worth his attention and escaped, but many another fair city, with its still active Roman life, was utterly destroyed. At Orleans, on the Loire, the first check was met. The people shut their gates, and led on by their brave bishop, resisted every assault until the coming of Aëtius and Theodoric the Visigoth drove the besieging army from the walls. Attila set out on his return to the

Attila in Gaul.

Rhine, through a country exhausted of provisions, and with his enemies following close upon his rear. Probably it was this pursuit of Aëtius which made the Hunnish leader pause somewhere near Châlons, on the Marne, and decide to fight.[1]

Attila retreats from Orleans.

The story of the great battle is told by the Gothic historian Jordanes, who wrote about one hundred years later. He at least believed it to be the most awful combat the world had ever seen. The armies faced each other in an immense plain, with a little hill on one side of it. Attila himself took the centre of the Hunnish line, with his German allies on the two flanks. On the other side, the centre was formed of the Alani who were the least to be counted upon, with the Visigoths and the Romans on the wings. The Romans succeeded in getting first upon the hill, and from there poured down upon the enemy. From three o'clock in the afternoon until nightfall of a summer day the awful battle raged back and forth across the plain. So fearful was the slaughter, says Jordanes, that a brook running through the middle of the field was swelled to a torrent by the blood of fallen men, and whoever drank of it died poisoned. He puts the number of the killed at 162,000, not to mention 15,000 killed in a skirmish the night before. Probably these figures are an enormous exaggeration. They were, however, magnified by later writers to 300,000.

The battle of Châlons, **451.**

All this shows how tremendous the conflict seemed to the men of the day. The very dead, it was said, rose from the ground in the night and kept up the bat-

[1] The exact location of the battle is a matter of controversy among scholars.

tle in mid air with their ghostly swords. So close was the struggle that neither side knew which was the victor. The Romans and Visigoths were ready to go on fighting with the dawn of day, but Attila dared not risk a fresh encounter. He drew his scattered army together and continued his retreat.

We may well ask what would have been the future of Europe if Attila had won the great battle. Not so very different, probably; for all that goes to make up permanent order among men was on the side of the Gallic allies, while the Huns were only wild destroyers of order. Sooner or later the great orderly forces of the western world must have come uppermost, as we shall now soon see them begin to do.

Was this a "decisive battle"?

After his great defeat in Gaul, Attila did not at once give up his dream of conquest, but after a winter's rest in Pannonia, he set out for Italy. The great and prosperous city of Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic Sea, stood in his way. It had never yet been taken by storm, though it had been several times besieged. Attila forced its surrender after a long and obstinate resistance. We must remember this capture of Aquileia, because it was the means of starting one of the most famous cities in the world. The fugitives from this and other cities destroyed by Attila sought refuge in the scattered islands near the mouth of the river Piave, and out of these settlements grew after a long time the wonderful city of Venice.

Attila invades Italy, 452.

Foundation of Venice.

The Hunnish army swept on to the south and west, through the lovely valley of the Po, where most of the

cities, to escape the fate of Aquileia, opened their gates without a blow. His way led through Padua, Verona, and Brescia to Milan and Pavia. The whole country north of the Apennines was in the hands of Attila. While he was debating whether to follow in the steps of Alaric, and tempt the same fate which had destroyed the great Visigoth, an embassy from Rome arrived in his camp. At the head of the messengers was the Roman Bishop **Leo**, who had come as head of the Church of Rome to beg mercy of the heathen conqueror.

Overruns Lombardy.

Embassy of Pope Leo.

We meet here one of the mysteries of history. A triumphant invader driven on by desire to avenge a terrible defeat, who thus far had respected nothing, before whom all Italy lay open, and who knew how weak were any possible chances of resistance, suddenly stops, turns about, and leads his victorious army home again. The legend says that while the holy man Leo was talking with Attila, suddenly the heavens were opened, and Saint Peter and Saint Paul appeared before the terrified heathen to enforce the words of the bishop. Was it some such terror as this? Was it the majesty and dignity of th venerable priest? Was it the thought of Alaric, or wa it the fear that his army of light horsemen, who ha never yet fought except in the open plain, might b crushed by a sudden assault in the narrow passes o the Apennines, or was it finally the dreaded Italia fever which was perhaps already making itself felt It may be that all these causes combined to delive Rome from the danger of the Huns. We have already seen how three years later this same Bishop Leo agai

Why did Attila retreat?

went out to meet the German and Christian Vandals, and to sue to them with less success for the safety of the Eternal City. 455.

Attila seems to have left behind him in Italy nothing but the terror of his name. No real government of the country, only the dread that when supplies ran short he might come again. Within a year he was dead, dying like a dog, it was said, in a drunken sleep. Attila has suffered a curious fate in history and legend. For a long time he was known only as the "Scourge of God," the mere destroyer; then, strangely enough, he quite lost this dreadful character and appears in the great legends of the German people as a very amiable character, not in any way to be distinguished from one of their own forefathers. If you have carefully followed his story, you will not be in any great danger of taking him for an ancestor of your own.

The legendary Attila.

With the death of Attila our interest in the Hunnish people ends. The great power which his will had held together flew apart as soon as he was gone. One great battle, a sort of free fight among all the races he had controlled, was enough to scatter them to the four winds, and to furnish the broken pieces out of which new kingdoms were to be built up.

The Hunnish kingdom goes to pieces, 454.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GERMANS IN ITALY.

AUTHORITIES: — For Odoacer: the "Anonymus Valesii"; *Vit Severini*, by Eugippius, a remarkable picture of manners durin the migrations.

For the Ostrogoths: Jordanes, Cassiodorus, "*Variae*," a colle tion of official documents, letters, etc., written by Cassiodoru while serving as the minister of Theodoric. Trans. by T. Hod kin, 1887. — Ennodius, *Panegyricus Theodorici;* fulsome fla tery of the king, but valuable for facts. — The "Calendar of R venna," a list of dates and events, especially such as affected th city of Ravenna, the basis of several chronicles. — Procopiu *de bello Gothico*, an account of the recovery of Italy by Ju tinian.

For the Lombards: *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, by an unknov Lombard, c. 680. — Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardoru* Extends to the year 744. A collection of the national trac tions written at the instance of Charlemagne.

MODERN WORKS: — Gibbon, Hodgkin, Sheppard, Milman. E. A. Freeman, The Goths at Ravenna. Essays, 3d seri 1879. As yet nothing has been written in English on the h tory of the Lombards.

§ 1. THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

DURING all this time, while Germans and Huns h been moving about pretty much as th pleased over the lands of Rome, the Empi divided into its eastern and western halv had kept up a sort of sham splendor, which had part concealed its weakness. **Theodosius**, the last empe

The Eastern Empire after Theodosius.

f the whole Roman world, had died in 395. In the East, his son **Arcadius** ruled until 408, and was succeeded by his son **Theodosius II.**, a boy of seven, who grew up into an indolent and incapable man. He was governed during his whole life by his sister **Pulcheria**, a woman of quite extraordinary character, altogether the best of the Theodosian family. When Theodosius II. died, she was recognized as Empress, and married at once the aged and respectable senator Marcian. Pulcheria died in 453, and Marcian in 457. The next Eastern Emperor was Leo the Thracian (457 to 474), and after him came Zeno (474 to 491).

395. 408. 450. 453. 457.

This Eastern Empire had all it could do to keep itself safe from the barbarians. It did this by making disgraceful treaties with them, in which the payment of great sums of money was always the most important point. We shall have little to do with its history, because it was not much concerned with the growth of the European states, and that is what we care most about. Remember, however, that it lived on, with Constantinople for its capital, until it was broken up by the Turks, in **1453**, a thousand years later than the time we are now studying. Remember also that the theory of the unity of the Empire was never given up, even when all pretence of actual power over the western world had long since disappeared.

Not important for us.

In the Western Empire things went steadily from bad to worse. Honorius lived his foolish life until 423. His sister **Placidia**, whom we have seen married to the Visigoth Adolf, and then sent home to Rome on the

death of her husband, was driven away by the jealousy of Honorius, and went to live with her niece and nephew, Pulcheria and Theodosius II., at Constantinople. Theodosius II. had a daughter, and Placidia a son by a second husband. It was hoped that by marrying these two the Eastern and Western Empires might be united. The marriage took place, and the young husband **Valentinian III.** became Emperor of the West under the guardianship of Placidia, but the hoped-for union between the two Empires did not take place.

Attempt to unite the two Empires.

425.

Valentinian's reign of boyish incompetence lasted thirty years. He was murdered in a private quarrel. His murderer, Maximus, seized at once upon his crown and his wife, and it was this wife, Eudoxia, who, out of hatred for her new husband, called over the Vandals from Africa. With Gaiseric at the gates, the people murdered Maximus in the street. The Empire now becomes the mere sport of the barbarian soldiery. Avitus, commander of the Roman forces in Gaul, gets the Visigoths to back him, receives a sort of sanction from the Eastern Emperor, and reigns fourteen months. **Ricimer**, a Sueve, grandson also, by his mother, of a Visigothic king, became the chief man of Western Rome. Within five years he set up and pulled down four emperors. In fact, he was the actual ruler of the state. When he died, in 472, the Eastern Emperor tried once more to manage the West by supporting an emperor of his own choice there, but it was too late. Whoever could manage the barbarian, mainly German soldiers in the service of

The West after Valentinian III. 455.

455.

455-456.

Power of Ricimer.

457-472.

472.

the state, was master of Rome. The official commander of these mercenary troops was a Roman citizen, Orestes, and with their support he made his son **Romulus** emperor. But the support of these hired troops was a foundation of sand. They cared in reality for no one's interest but their own. They were always demanding of the government greater and greater pay and privileges, and the more the government depended upon them, of course the louder were their demands. At length they went so far as to ask of Orestes thirds of all the lands of Italy. We see here that these German soldiers had come to know the value of a settled life. Nothing less than actual homes among the conquered peoples would satisfy them. The demand was flatly refused.

475.

Revolt of the mercenaries.

One of their number came forward, and promised if they would make him their leader, to get them what they wanted. In the good old German fashion they raised this man, **Odoacer**, on their shields, and marched towards Pavia, where Orestes had shut himself up. Pavia was taken, Orestes was captured and put to death, and the poor little emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was sent off to a splendid villa near Naples, where he is heard of no more.

Leadership of Odoacer.

476.

Odoacer might have done as Ricimer had, and kept up still longer the form of a Roman Empire in the West, but that had been going on long enough. The old Roman Empire was dead, and it was better for these new possessors to bury it out of sight forever. It was only a question whether they were able to put something in place of it which should give promise of a new social and political order. The

He governs without an emperor.

end of the emperors was not by any means the end of the Roman government. The Germans of Odoacer had to make use of all the machinery of the imperial rulers, especially of their system of tax-collecting. They divided up the great estates of the rich Romans, taking in each case a third part for themselves, and either living on this land, or — what was probably more common and more agreeable to them — leaving the former occupant undisturbed, and just taking a third part of the product of the estate every year.

Odoacer as agent of the Eastern Empire.

You will no longer find it strange that the people of Italy did not rise up and turn out these uncomfortable guests. With singular moderation Odoacer did not claim sovereignty for himself, but pretended to rule as the agent of the Eastern Emperor, a convenient pretence which kept up a show of friendliness between East and West. Odoacer's real danger was not from the feeble empire of Constantinople, but from other men of his own race.

§ 2. The Ostrogothic Kingdom.

453. After the break-up of the Hunnish kingdom at the death of Attila, the great body of the **East-Gothic** nation had settled in Pannonia, where they could watch their chance for a share of the spoils of Rome. In a few years they found some excuse for moving into the neighborhood of Constantinople. The policy of the Eastern Emperors was always to buy off and use their enemies, and thus the Ostrogoths were hired to defend the lower Danube. In the year of the

fall of the Western Empire the great **Theodoric** became their king, of all the barbarian chieftains the one who showed the highest kingly qualities. He belonged to the royal family of the **Amali**, from which the Ostrogoths had for generations chosen their leaders. He had spent his whole youth as a hostage at the court of Constantinople, and had there learned the polished manners of the Romans while still keeping his German heart.

Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths, 476.

As soon as he found himself at the head of his people he offered their services to the Emperor to drive out the other barbarians from Italy and to hold the country for the Empire. The Emperor was glad enough by this time to be rid of such a neighbor. The Ostrogoths, moving as a nation, not merely as an army, passed the Alps and came down to meet their kinsmen under Odoacer in open fight. Three great battles were needed before Odoacer gave up the contest and shut himself within the almost impregnable fortress of Ravenna, and even then it was three years before he could be forced to surrender. Theodoric had not so far lost his barbarian ways but that he could murder his brave rival in cold blood during the banquet which celebrated the surrender.

Enters the service of the Empire.

490.

Conquers Odoacer, 493.

Now, for the first time, Italy was occupied by a barbarian *nation*, not merely a horde of hungry warriors, but a people with a history behind them, and with a fixed political system. The Ostrogoths followed the plan of Odoacer by occupying thirds of the landed estates. Theodoric aimed to make himself as much a Roman as he could without giving

Theodoric king of Italy.

up his hold on the affections of his race. He acknowledged a certain allegiance to the distant and harmless Emperor at Constantinople, but was really the head of all the affairs of Italy. His councillors were Romans, the foremost men of the day. He was man enough to see that the Roman law was much better to regulate the lives of his Roman subjects than the Gothic law which he had brought with him, and so he left it undisturbed excepting where it interfered with the control of his nation over the conquered lands of Italy.

Tries to unite the races.

Until now we have seen the Germans only as men whose work in the world was to pull down; now we find a German race beginning to show a desire to build up. It is amazing to see how this son of a forest chieftain took up the duties of a great Christian king. His laws, of which we have a good many, are all aimed at securing the peace of Italy by a wise regulation of the two races. The Goths were to govern, but they were not to oppress. The "*Edictum Theodorici*," a code of laws prepared by Theodoric, as he expressly states, for the government of Romans and Germans alike, contains only selections from Roman law. The Roman Church, with its proud story of independence and its great claims to control all human actions, was made to feel his strong hand whenever it seemed to him to need it.

Order restored in Italy.

After all these years of confusion and destruction, Italy was blessed with a generation of order and recovery. It is often and well said that the great Roman estates, worked by slave labor, ruined Rome. The effect of the Gothic occupation was to break up these estates into smaller ones, and thus to

encourage agriculture. The countries from which Italy had imported her grain were now almost wholly in the hands of the African Vandals, or were in constant danger from them, so that Italy had to provide for itself, and we know that the farmers of a land are always in favor of peace and order.

Learning and art.

Another sign of growing prosperity is the increase of buildings. At Ravenna, the capital of Theodoric, we have to this day some splendid specimens of architecture which date from his time. In fact, this very people were to give their name to the most beautiful form of architecture the world has ever seen, a form which, curiously enough, however, did not begin to be used until centuries after the Gothic race had passed out of history. Although Theodoric himself never learned to read or write, he encouraged in every way the study of letters. The last rays of declining learning in Italy are shed by the circle of scholars at the Gothic court.

Theodoric's alliances.

Beyond Italy Theodoric extended his power in the western Alpine country to the Rhone, and strengthened himself by alliance with his German kinsmen. His second wife was a Frankish princess; one daughter married a king of the Burgundians, another a king of the Visigoths; his sister was the wife of a king of the Vandals, and a niece was given to a king of the Thuringians. All his plans seem to point to the hope of a permanent Gothic kingdom of Italy. For the first time in European history we catch a glimpse of what may properly be called a family of nations, living in distinct boundaries, and dealing with each other on equal terms.

But within the innermost councils of the Ostrogothic kingdom there crept in a secret intrigue for the restoration of Italy to the sovereignty of East Rome. The two most famous scholars of the court, **Boethius** and Symmachus, were suspected, rightly or wrongly, of connection with these plans, and were put to death. Theodoric left behind him a splendid inheritance, which, in wise and strong hands, might have given lasting order to Italy. A constant source of weakness had been the fact that the Ostrogoths, though Christians, belonged, like most of the Germans, to the sect of the Arians, while the Roman Church was devotedly Athanasian, or Orthodox-Catholic. Theodoric had been strong enough to control this religious opposition, but as soon as he was gone, it began to be felt.

Jealousy of the Eastern Empire.

526.

The religious opposition.

Meanwhile the Empire of the East had come into the hands of a really great man. **Justinian** revived for a moment the name and fortune of Rome. He is remembered in history chiefly for the great work of putting into compact form, for the use of the courts, the whole great body of Roman law which had been growing during so many centuries. But, more than this, Justinian had great visions of winning back to the Roman allegiance the long-lost provinces of Italy and Africa. His great general, **Belisarius**, in one rapid campaign, overran the whole Vandal territory, and put an end to their kingdom forever. In the next year he crossed over into Italy, where all who were dissatisfied with the Ostrogothic rule welcomed him as their deliverer. For five years the

Justinian Emperor of the East, 527-565.

Belisarius recovers Africa, 534.

Invades Italy, 535.

Roman general tried in vain to drive the Goths out of Italy, and was finally called home to defend the Empire against an attack from Persia. The Goths again recovered the greater part of Italy, and found the population already so tired of the taxes and oppression of Constantinople, that when Belisarius, after four years, came over again, they stood quite firmly against him. After years of fighting, Belisarius was again recalled, and a third campaign under **Narses** at the head of hired Germanic troops was begun. The Goths made a desperate resistance, but were finally beaten in one great battle, and their kingdom in Italy was at an end. Their feeble remnant lost its name, and was absorbed into kindred tribes.

540.

Second Italian campaign, 544–549.

Ostrogoths conquered by Narses, **552.**

§ 3. The Lombard Kingdom.

The fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy left the country a prey to the greediness of the Eastern Emperors. The conqueror Narses was made governor of Italy with the title of **Exarch**, and with his residence at Ravenna. During Justinian's life things went smoothly enough, but as soon as he was dead, enemies at home made Ravenna so uncomfortable for Narses, that in a fit of rage at this ungrateful treatment he sent word up into Pannonia, where the German nation of the Lombards was then living, that if they chose to cross the Alps, he would not stand in their way.

Narses, exarch of Ravenna,

565.

invites the Lombards into Italy,

A word was enough. The nation took up its march, and under its king Alboin overran the valley of the

Po. The great city of Pavia held out through a siege
568. of three years, and then became for more than two centuries the Lombard capital. The victory of these new barbarians was swift and decisive. Italy had become so weakened by the repeated wars that her power to resist was pretty well gone. With the exception of the Exarchate of Ravenna on the Adriatic, the so-called Duchy of Rome on the west coast, and the southern ends of the peninsula, all Italy soon fell under Lombard control. The valley of the Po, ever since called "**Lombardy**," was the centre of their power. The rest was held by subject "dukes" of their own race.

Hard rule of the Lombards.

The Lombard rule was harder for Italy to bear than that of any of her other conquerors. Unlike the Ostrogoths, the Lombards seem not to have respected the Roman subjects, excepting in the cities. They were a cruel and barbarous people, whose Arian Christianity had not done very much towards making them more orderly or civilized. Their difference of faith made them always dangerous for Rome, and the Emperors of the East could do little for her defence. The Lombard history, as told by Paul the Deacon in the time of Charlemagne, is full of wild, romantic tales. The wife of Alboin, the beautiful Rosamund, was the daughter of a king of the Gepidæ, whom the Lombards had defeated and killed. At a great festival the king offered the queen wine in a cup made from her father's skull. Rosamund, in revenge, plotted the murder of her husband, then mixed poison for her guilty lover, but was forced by him to share the cup. The brave king Autharis heard of the beauty of

Lombard legends.

584–590.

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5
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Britons
Anglo-Saxons
Thames
Frisians
Rhine
50
Brittany
Kingdom of the
Loire
45
Burgundians
413-534.
Saône
Rhone
Kingdom of the Visigoths in Gaul 415-507.
Suevi
Duero
Ebro
40
Kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain 415-711.
MEDITER
35
Kingdom of the Vand
429-534.
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5 Longitude

Struthers & Co., Engr's, N.Y.

Theodolinda, daughter of the Bavarian king, and went disguised as his own ambassador to sue for her hand. The maiden fell in love with the handsome youth, only to find that it was the king himself. It was this Theodolinda who, urged by the great Pope Gregory I., induced the Lombards to give up their Arian faith, and accept the Catholic doctrine from Rome.

Lombard power increases till Charlemagne.

During the seventh century the people were evidently increasing in numbers and in all that goes to make a nation. Their system of law was put into a form suited to use in the courts, and we must study it to-day if we would know most certainly what was peculiar to them as a race. Probably their numbers were small as compared with the Roman inhabitants, but their superior military force enabled them to keep the upper hand, while all the time the Romans were slowly conquering them by means of their language, their law, and their skill in all the arts of civilized life.

774.

We may leave the Lombards here, to take them up again when we come to speak of their final conquest by the Franks under Charlemagne.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FRANKS TO 638.

AUTHORITIES: — With the history of the Franks we come to a new form of historical literature which was to be the most important during the whole of the Middle Ages, the "Annals." These were records made from year to year in some monastery, or possibly at the courts of rulers, in which such events were mentioned as seemed to the writer to be of the most importance. Sometimes no entries seem to have been made for many years, and then the history of this period would be written all at once by one hand. In such a case the writer might borrow his material from some other annals, and add to it such information as he could get from his fellow-monks or from his own memory.

It was a matter of pride for each monastery to have its annals as complete as possible, and so we find the writers going back to some very distant point, to the year 1, for instance, or to Abraham, or even to Adam. In such cases the earlier history was of course borrowed from written books, especially from the Bible, and the real value of the annals begins only when they treat of events within the personal knowledge of the writer.

One might suppose that the knowledge of a monk, living a retired life, apart from the great current of events, would not be worth much; but in fact the monk might be a person very much in affairs. The monasteries were the chief seats of education and of the arts of civilized life. They were also the hotels of the day, and hospitality to travellers was a chief duty of the order. Monks were employed as the secretaries of rulers and as the tutors of their sons. In all these ways it was possible for them to see a good deal of life. Even without leaving the walls of their monastery, they were in a position to gather from the reports of travellers the news of what was going on in the great world.

The annals, then, when written by men of education and talent,

were oftentimes quite vivid and complete accounts of events about which we should not expect the recluse to have any knowledge whatever. On the other hand, they are often provokingly full on matters for which we have no interest, — the state of the weather, the occurrence of marvellous events, such as the birth of a two-headed cow, or the falling of meteors, or the miraculous conversion of heathen.

During the time of the Merovingians the annalistic writing of the Middle Ages was but just beginning. Notice the events which seemed worthy of record.

From the annals of Fulda: —

763. Tassilo, nephew of (king) Pippin, withdrew from the army of the king and went over to the Bavarians.

764. In this year the winter was severe and longer than usual.

765. Chrodegang, archbishop of Metz, brought the bodies of Saints Gorgonius, Nabor, and Nazarius, given him by Paul, bishop of the Roman See, from Rome to France.

From the lesser annals of Lorsch: —

810. A very great mortality of the cattle in almost all Europe, also of many men, and Chrotruda, daughter of the Emperor, and Pippin his son (died).

807. Grimoald, duke of Beneventum, died, and there was great mortality in the monastery of St. Boniface, so that many of the younger brothers died; and Eggi died, and Hutuman and Meginrat. The boys (of the monastery school) beat their teacher and ran away.

At the same time the annals follow the movements of the kings, and become fuller as events become of more importance.

From the annals of Einhard: —

743. Karlmann and Pippin, joining their forces, marched against Odilo, duke of Bavaria, and conquered his army in battle. Upon their return Karlmann went alone to Saxony and received the surrender of the fortress of Hoch-Seeburg, together with the Saxon Theodoric, the commander of the place.

Again the brothers, Karlmann and Pippin, joined forces and entered Saxony, where they accepted anew the surrender of Theodoric.

745. In this year Karlmann, as he had long intended to do,

declared to his brother Pippin his desire to put off the habit of this world and to serve God in the garb of a monk. On this account they abandoned the year's campaign, and Pippin also gave himself up to celebrating the vows of Karlmann and arranging his journey, for he had determined to go to Rome, giving his aid that his brother might honorably and appropriately accomplish his purpose.

The first real history written in the Middle Ages is Gregory of Tours' *Historia ecclesiastica Francorum*. 4 vols. Lat. and Fr. Pub. by the Société de l'histoire de France. Gregory writes of all affairs both political and religious, down to the close of the sixth century. He was himself an active public man, standing in close relations with the chief persons in the politics of his time. His work is almost our only source of information during the period of which it treats.

MODERN WORKS: — E. E. Crowe: History of France. 5 vols. 1858–68. — Sir James Stephen: Lectures on the History of France. N.Y. 1875. — F. P. G. Guizot: A Popular History of France. 6 vols. Boston. — G. W. Kitchin: A History of France. 3 vols. Oxf. 1873–77. The best short history. — Jules Michelet: History of France. 2 vols. N.Y. 1860. — F. P. G. Guizot: History of Civilization. 4 vols. N.Y. 1867. — J. W. Loebell: Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit. 2 ed. 1869.

The Franks before Clovis, 486.

WE come now to the last and most important of the German nations which settled on Roman soil. Not the last in point of time, for their conquest of Gaul began a few years before Theodoric came into Italy, and nearly a century before the Lombards set out for the Po valley. We speak of them last because the Frankish people was in time to bring together under its rule almost all the German races on the continent of Europe. Long after the Visigoths had found their home in the lands north and south of the Pyrenees, the Vandals in Africa, and the Burgundians in the val-

414.
429.
443.

leys of the Rhone and Saône, we hear of the **Franks** as a great nation, living along the lower Rhine, from about where Cologne now is to near the river's mouth.

The Roman government in Gaul had used them as "allies" to defend the Rhine border, and we meet many single Franks among the generals and councillors of the later Empire. The Franks did not, like their kinsmen, the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards, leave their own country, and go roaming over the world in search of new lands. They held what they had, and kept adding more to it, and this is probably the chief reason why they got the better of the rest. In all the other kingdoms, the difference between the German and the Roman population was the hardest thing to manage, but the rule of the Franks was always in great part over people of pure German blood, living on land which had been for centuries Frankish land.

They advance gradually.

We find the nation in two great divisions, — the **Salians**, living near the mouth of the Rhine; and the Ripuarians, farther up the river, near Cologne. Our chief interest is in the Salian Franks, who, long before the time of their great conquest in Gaul, had been spreading out toward the south and west, passing the rivers Meuse, Scheldt, and Somme. We know little about these early movements; but when, in the year 486, the Salian Franks begin an active warfare against a feeble Roman garrison south of the Somme, they are a fully developed nation like the Goths or Lombards, with a well-defined legal system, the famous "Salic law," and with a strong, well-recognized royal power in the hands of the Merovingian family. Under their king, **Clovis** (Chlodoweg, Louis),

The Salian Franks.

they came to a pitched battle with the Roman general Syagrius near Soissons. This one battle settled the fate of Northern Gaul, and moved the southern boundary of the Franks to the river Loire, which was the northern frontier of the Visigothic kingdom.

Battle of Soissons, **486.**

The next ten years were spent in strengthening the hold already gained upon the North. In 496 the German Alemanni beyond the Rhine, in the Black Forest and the Alps, attacked the Ripuarian Franks, who called upon the Salians to help them. Clovis commanded the Frankish army in a battle somewhere near Strassburg,[1] and gained a complete victory. The Alemanni lost their independent power, and left nothing but their name, by which to this day the inhabitants of Gaul call the inhabitants of Germany (Allemands). This battle near Strassburg is to be remembered, not so much for its own sake as on account of a great change which began then in the position of the Franks. Clotilda, the wife of the heathen Clovis, was a Burgundian princess and a devout Roman Catholic Christian. She had long been trying to persuade Clovis to join in her belief; and while the battle of Strassburg was going on, Clovis vowed that if the God of Clotilda would give him the victory, he would do as she desired. He conquered, and was at once baptized, he and three thousand of the chief men of the Franks.

Clovis conquers the Alemanni, 496.

496.

Conversion of the Franks.

We can hardly believe that such a rapid conversion had very much to do with the belief or the life of the Frankish nation. And yet it was one of the most im-

[1] Formerly called the battle of Zülpich (Tolbiacum).

portant events in history. You will remember that all the other Germans we have met had been converted to the Arian form of Christianity,[1] and that this had been a continual source of trouble between them and their Roman subjects. The wife of Clovis was a Catholic believer, and of course Clovis and all his Franks took up that form of Christianity, and thus became the enemies of all Arian believers. It was the merest accident. These utterly ignorant children of Nature could not begin to comprehend a difference which has puzzled the wisest heads down to our own day. We can hardly suppose they thought about the why and the wherefore of their belief at all. Only having once made up their minds to be Catholic Christians, they would show their belief in the one way they could understand, and that was by fighting for it.

Why this was important.

Then another point. By the time the Franks had fought the battle of Strassburg the bishops of the city of Rome had come to be looked up to as the leaders of the Church in what had been the Western Empire. They had come to be called popes, and were trying hard to govern the Church of the West just as a king might govern his people. We have seen how much respect a venerable pope like **Leo** could command even from such rude destroyers as Attila and Gaiseric. Now the popes had always been devoted Catholics, opposed to Arianism wherever it appeared. At the moment of the Frankish conversion they were in constant danger from the Arian Ostrogoths who had just got a firm hold upon Italy. Theodoric had not disturbed the religion of Rome, but a new

Popes at Rome also Catholic.

[1] This theological controversy will be explained in Chapter IX.

king might arise who should try to force Arianism upon the whole of Italy. The pope was therefore overjoyed to hear that the newly converted Franks had taken his form of the Christian belief. He was ready to bless every undertaking of theirs as the work of God, if only it might be against the worse than heathen Arians. Thus began as early as the year 500 an understanding between the Roman Papacy and the Frankish kingdom which was to ripen into an intimate alliance and to do very much towards shaping all the future history of Europe.

Alliance between Franks and Papacy begins.

The first use which Clovis made of his new character as the soldier of the true church was to declare war against the Burgundian King Gundobald, an Arian ruler with many Catholic subjects. One easy victory near Dijon forced the Burgundian to agree to pay tribute to the Franks, and to give the same privileges to his Catholic as to his Arian subjects. Thus the Franks secured among the Burgundians a large party which thought of them as the defenders of its interests, and this led after a few years to a complete conquest of the Burgundian people.

Burgundy becomes tributary, 500.

534.

Meanwhile, still as the defender of a pure faith, Clovis began to find it intolerable that the fair lands of **Aquitaine** should be in the hands of the unbelieving Arian Visigoths. If we may believe the excellent bishop, **Gregory of Tours**, who wrote of these events two generations after they happened, all sorts of miraculous signs pointed to Clovis as the divine hero who was to set free a people from the burden of the heretic. A white doe of won-

Clovis attacks the Visigoths.

drous size and beauty pointed out a ford in the river Vienne, and a brilliant meteor from the steeple of St. Hilary at Poitiers illumined the Frankish camp. The armies met near Vouillé, and Clovis won an easy victory. Very likely the Roman subjects of the Visigoths did not care to fight against their Catholic enemies. It would not be strange if the Visigoths themselves had lost much of their bravery by their hundred years of more civilized life. At all events, it will generally be seen that the longer a German race had been living on the Roman soil, the less able had it become to meet the attacks of fresher troops from its own native forests.

Battle at Vouillé, 507.

The Franks overran the country to the Garonne, and wintered at Bordeaux. The campaign of the next spring opened with equal success, soon checked, however, by a strong force of Ostrogoths sent over the Alps by Theodoric. Clovis was beaten near Arles (Arelatum), and drew back across the Loire. In spite of this one defeat, all Aquitaine between Loire and Garonne remained in his hands. The Visigoths kept only a small territory about Narbonne, north of the Pyrenees. Henceforth their real power was in the Spanish peninsula, until this, too, was broken up by the Mohammedan invasion from the South.

Aquitaine occupied, 508.

711.

Thus far Clovis had been only the boldest and most successful among several chiefs of the Franks. His aim was now to make himself the only one. He urged the son of Siegebert, the Ripuarian king, to murder his father, then punished him for it with death, and himself took the power of the murdered

Clovis annexes Ripuaria.

men. Three other so-called "kings" of the Salic Franks stood in his way. On one flimsy excuse or another he murdered them all, and was hailed as chief of the Frankish nation. By the addition of the Ripuarian territory his power now reached beyond the Rhine as far as the sources of the Werra and Fulda. "Thus," says the pious Gregory of Tours, "did God daily deliver the enemies of Clovis into his hand because he walked before His face with an upright heart." If here and there a leader among the people seemed not worth murdering, Clovis had his head shaved, because none but members of his own royal house of the Merovingians might lawfully wear the flowing locks which marked the princely rank. We see that the Christianity of this man of God had not made him very different from what he was when he first led his warriors across the Somme.

Removes his enemies.

So it was that when Clovis died, in 511, he left behind him a great kingdom in which there was no one strong enough to keep his four sons from dividing it among themselves as if it had been a piece of private property. Each kept a part of the old Frankish territory, and a part also of the new conquests of Clovis. They had their headquarters at the four cities of Metz, Orleans, Paris, and Soissons, but their territories were so placed that neither could get from one part of his possessions to another without crossing the lands of his brothers. The result was continual quarrelling, which broke out every now and then into open wars. Whenever one of these princes died, one or another took the same method of getting his land as had been used by Clovis; he murdered the

The four sons of Clovis.

brother's sons, or whomever he thought dangerous to his own unjust claims. The aged queen-mother Clotilda tried in vain to protect the rights of her grandchildren. On one occasion two of the sons of Clovis seized upon three of their nephews, whose father had just died, and sent to Clotilda a pair of scissors and a sword, telling her to choose which should be used upon the boys. Clotilda answered that she would rather see them dead than dishonored by the loss of their flowing hair, upon which one of the uncles, Lothaire, stabbed two of the boys, and would have killed the third if he had not been forcibly prevented.

Conquest of Thuringia, 530.

In the year 530 Theodoric, the oldest son of Clovis, conquered the Thuringians in battle, and invited their king to meet him in Zülpich. While the two were walking upon the walls, suddenly the Thuringian king was hurled headlong to his death. "Nobody knows who did it," says Gregory of Tours, "but many believe it was done through the cunning of Theodoric." Thus Thuringia was added to the Frankish kingdom. Four years later Burgundy was completely conquered, and became also Frankish territory. Alemannia, beyond the Rhine, and finally the remnant of the Visigothic kingdom in Provence, completed the conquests of the sons of Clovis.

Conquest of Burgundy, 534.

Lothaire I. unites the kingdom, 558.

A series of accidents and crimes made way for Lothaire to unite the whole kingdom once more in his own hand. A son who ventured to rebel was seized, and with his wife and children burned alive. The death of Lothaire brought about a repetition of the story of the sons of Clovis.

Lothaire, too, left four sons, who divided the kingdom, and again a new series of horrible crimes begins. We will not follow these, but will notice only that with the frequent divisions of territory new names are growing up which are to be of great importance in the future. The king who lived at Metz was naturally the one who gained power towards the east, and his kingdom came thus gradually to be called the East-Kingdom (**Austrasia**), while the kings at Paris and Soissons naturally looked towards the west, and their kingdoms united into one were called the West-Kingdom, (**Neustria**).

"Austrasia" and "Neustria."

These were for many generations the chief divisions of the Franks. The population of Austrasia was almost wholly Germanic, that of Neustria very largely Romanic. Besides these, Burgundy was now a regular division of the kingdom. The rest of the newly conquered lands were divided among these three chief kingdoms. The old Germanic principle of electing the best man of a certain family to be leader of the nation had, you see, entirely given way to the other principle, by which the king's sons, no matter how many or how miserable they might be, divided their father's kingdom as if it had been a piece of property. If then the king died without children, his brothers would scramble for his land, and thus there was a constant temptation to hurry brothers and nephews out of the world as fast as possible. There is hardly a more awful bit of human history than the story of these wars among the sons of Lothaire as told by Gregory of Tours. Yet we must remember that all this restless ambition for land and power shows

Inheritance of the kingdoms makes trouble.

a strong race, a people busied with the making of a nation, full of a desperate energy which was not very nice about its means, but out of which something great must come.

Lothaire died in 561. In the half-century of violent warfare which followed, the chief figures are those of two terrible women, **Fredegonda**, queen of Neustria, and **Brunhilda**, queen of Austrasia. Their death-struggle ended in the union of all three kingdoms once more under Lothaire II., son of Fredegonda. Lothaire's son **Dagobert** was made his associate as king of Austrasia, and became sole ruler of the Franks in 628. The ten years of Dagobert's reign may be remembered as the highest point of the Merovingian power. He was able to keep a firm hold upon the Austrasian nobles who were inclined to make trouble for him. His alliance was sought by the Eastern Emperor and by the Lombards of Italy. But the Franks were not yet ready to obey a king who should try to be a king in the later meaning of that word; that is, who should not respect the independent rights of his noble subjects. When Dagobert oppressed them with taxes and tried to get lands which they thought belonged to themselves, the leading men, whom we may now call the nobles, rebelled and forced him to do as they wished. And when Dagobert was gone, the real power of the Merovingian kings was gone too.

561.

Lothaire II. again unites the kingdom, 613.

Dagobert, **628-638.**

638.

A new power was rising into prominence. Chief among the Frankish nobles were those who held an office near the person of the kings, something like that

of a prime minister, very much the sort of person that Prince Bismark has so long been in the state of Prussia. This officer was called the **Major Domus**, the Master of the Palace, and was the most important person at each of the Frankish courts. It was easy for such a minister, if he was also a man of character and a good general, to get a great deal of power in his own hands; and if he had a son, he of course tried, very often successfully, to have this son appointed his successor. During a hundred years from the death of Dagobert, the kings were losing and the Masters of the Palace were gaining power. The office of Major Domus in Austrasia became hereditary in a noble family which is known as the "Carolingian," from the name of the greatest member, **Charles the Great**, afterwards king of the Franks.

Rise of the "Major Domus."

638-752.

The story of this change of authority from the Merovingians to the Carolingian house belongs more properly with the history of the next period. We must think of the Merovingian time as that in which the Frankish race, after their sudden change from a wild life to a settled life, from a government by many independent leaders to the government of one royal power, from being a single people living for themselves to be rulers over many conquered nations, and finally from heathenism to Christianity, were slowly and painfully getting used to all these changes. How well they learned this great lesson we shall see better when we come to study them in their later history.

Meaning of the Merovingian period.

CHAPTER VIII.

GERMANIC IDEAS OF LAW.

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IT is clear that when two peoples like the Germans and Romans came into contact through conquest and were forced to live side by side on the same soil, their differences in customs and traditions would come out very strongly and would often give rise to serious troubles.

The Germans had a legal system.

In no respect were these differences more marked than in the views of law held by the two races. We have been speaking of the Germans as barbarians, and the word may have seemed to suggest people living without any well-de-

fined system of laws. But the Germans were not barbarians in that sense. On the contrary, they had a very well-marked legal system, and what is more, they by no means dropped it as they had dropped their ancient religion, but they retained it as the basis of the new arrangements with the conquered Romans. Furthermore, the Germanic legal notions continued for centuries to give character to the whole social order of Europe, and for that reason they are important for our study.

Comparison with modern principles.

If we compare these ideas of law with those of the Romans or with our own, the first great difference which strikes us is the larger room given to the action of the individual. With the Roman, as with ourselves, the state seemed to be the source of law. Men looked to the state to take care of their legal rights, and were willing to give up to the state any right they might once have had to revenge their own wrongs. We may understand this by an example. If your pocket-book is stolen, you notify the state, that is, the police, and think no more about the matter. You neither could, nor would you wish to, spend your time in hunting out the thief. You expect the state to do that for you, and if it finds him, you expect it to return your money and to punish the criminal, not so much for the wrong he has done you, but as a warning to others, and so as a protection to the good order of your community.

Or again, if a man tries to murder you, you do not wish to hunt him down and try to murder him. You look to the state to arrest him and to see to it that he makes no such attempts for the future. Or once more,

if you have a difference with a man about the right to a piece of land, you do not feel yourself personally attacked and want to fight it out with your rival. You go together to the state, that is to the court, and ask it to decide between you according to the customary or written law of your land.

Still you read in the papers, even in these days, on rare occasions, especially in partly settled countries, of men taking the law into their own hands, for fear lest the state should not do its duty in seeking out and punishing crime. There are parts of our own country to-day where this sense of the duty of submission to the state is still so weak, that if one man injures another, the injured man is actually forced by public opinion to revenge his own wrong; then the family of the first wrong-doer tries to injure some one of the family of the second, these return the attack, and so a feud arises between the families, which often runs for generations before the state can put an end to it.[1]

Modern feuds.

Now this state of things which seems so very dreadful to us, was the natural condition of the ancient Germans. The difference was, that whereas among us it means the neglect or violation of law, it was with the Germans the basis of all law. The German thought of his legal rights as belonging to him, not because he was a member of the state, but because he was himself, the son of his fathers, and the heir of all that had seemed right to them. His law was a part of himself. He could no more change it or part with it than he could change or part with his own existence. If he went into the territory of another

"Personality of law."

[1] *E.g.* the Rowan County feuds in Kentucky.

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people, he carried his law with him and looked to have it respected. This notion of law is what is called by scholars the idea of the "personality of law," as distinguished from the "territoriality of law."

Its consequences in conquests.

Let us look now at some of the curious consequences of the personal principle in legal ideas. When a nation having this conception of law conquered another nation, it became a question how it would regard the laws of the conquered race. When the Romans made a conquest, they allowed the religious and social institutions of the country to remain as they were, but they made the inhabitants, in so far as they thought them worthy of it, subject to the Roman law. When the Empire was divided into East and West, there was no division of laws. The final publication of the whole body of legal institutions was made by an emperor who never set foot on any really Roman ground.

German treatment of Roman law.

But when the Germans conquered, they applied to the conquered people the same rule of personality which every German claimed for himself. The conquered people had to submit to the military and political control of the conqueror, but he was bound to judge them by their own law. If, for example, Franks conquered Visigoths, they might force the Visigoth to serve in the Frankish army and they might tax him for the expense of government; but if he came into their court, he had a right to be tried by the law of his fathers. Now it is evident that the greatest possible contrast was brought out when the barbarian Germans conquered the civilized Romans. They found in the subject land a magnificent legal

system, written down in ponderous volumes. They found a class of learned men whose business in life it was to explain this law and to apply it in the courts. In the new life of cities into which they were now led, there were many necessities of business and social life for which their own law had no provision. So that there was more occasion than ever for them to carry out the old Germanic principle of toleration. In fact, we have reason to believe that they took very great pains to become acquainted with the law of Rome, for we have some little books of selections from that law evidently prepared for the use of German judges.

"Leges Romanae."

Their own law was unwritten. They had been living such simple lives in the forest and the plain that they had never needed any but the simplest forms of law, and these they had been able to hand down by word of mouth from one generation to another. Now, however, when they were brought into contact with the law of Rome, we may well believe that it seemed likely to overshadow and drive out their own simple forms unless they secured these by putting them also into writing. So it happened that within about two or three generations from the time of settling on Roman soil the law of each one of the Germanic nations was written down by some Roman scholar and in the Latin language. These laws have come down to us, and are a most precious possession. They tell us better than any histories just what our ancient relatives were thinking on all the most important subjects of their daily life together. They give us the key, which would otherwise have been lost, to the most peculiar and individual traits of the Germanic mind.

Necessity for written law.

The most important of the German laws are the *Lex Salica*, the law of the Salian Franks, the *Lex Ripuariorum*, *Lex Wisigothorum*, *Lex Burgundionum*, *Lex Saxonum* and *Lex Frisionum*, and the Edicts of the Lombard kings. Taken together they are often called the "*Leges Barbarorum*," in distinction from the "*Lex Romana*," and also from those collections of Roman laws for the use of the German courts to which we have already referred and which were called the "*Leges Romanae*."

The "Leges Barbarorum."

The *Leges Barbarorum* differ very much from each other in extent and in content. In an edition in which the *Lex Salica* occupies fifty printed pages, the *Lex Frisionum* occupies twenty-five, the *Lex Saxonum* ten, while the Edicts of the Lombard kings occupy one hundred and sixty, and the *Lex Wisigothorum* two hundred and fifty. From this it will be seen that those nations which lived farthest from the Roman influence were least impressed with the importance of giving to their law a complete and systematic codification.

Their extent.

A similar distinction is seen in the degree to which this folk-law was affected by the Roman. The Edicts of the Lombard kings, especially in the earlier period of the conquest, make hardly any mention of Romans or their law, while the *Edictum Theodorici*, prepared by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, contains only principles borrowed from the Roman law. In other cases, as with the Burgundians and Visigoths, the laws relating to one people are carefully distinguished from those relating to the other. In the far northern laws of the Frisians and Saxons, little if any trace of Roman influence can be seen.

How influenced by Roman law.

But in spite of these differences in form and in extent, the laws, in so far as they are German, have certain very striking common peculiarities. We have seen how the personality of the law resulted in the respect of the conquerors for the conquered, and in the great sense of the right of the individual as against the community or the state. We have now to notice a third consequence of this same personal idea of law in the Germanic conceptions of the process by which legal proof was to be got at. Nothing seems clearer to us than that, if a person is accused of wronging another, the charge must be proved by the evidence of persons who know something about the facts. A person accused of theft, for instance, may bring in as many witnesses as he pleases to testify to his good character; but if the prosecution can show by the evidence of one uncontradicted witness, whose honesty is not questioned, that the defendant certainly did commit the theft, no matter how stoutly he may deny it, and no matter how good his previous character may have been, convicted he will be.

German ideas of legal evidence.

The Germanic idea of legal process was entirely different from this. So strong was the sense of individual right, that the person accused was regarded as attacked in his honor and bound to reinstate himself. The accuser was not called upon to prove the crime by what we should call evidence, but the accused must clear himself of the charge. This seems at first sight to put the accused at a great disadvantage. It seems to violate what we consider the very first principle of criminal law, that a man is to be considered innocent until he is proved guilty. And if

"Compurgation."

the Germanic ideas of proof had been the same as ours, it would have been so. But the accused person had with them the great advantage of not being obliged to get evidence that he had not committed the act; he had only to declare himself innocent by an oath and get a certain number of other persons to swear, not that they knew him to be innocent of this particular act, but that they believed him to be telling the truth. They need have no knowledge whatever as to the facts in the given case. This is the famous institution of the "compurgators." The number of the compurgators was generally from seven to eleven, but the number varied according to some curious principles, which we must now examine.

Value of the given word.

Proof at law rested in the first place upon the value of the given word, confirmed by an oath. But the value of a man's word at law depended partly upon his value in the community, and partly upon the value of the man to whom he was opposed. For instance, in the Frisian law, if a noble was accused of the murder of another noble, he needed eleven compurgators of his own rank to free him; if accused of murdering a freeman, he needed but seven compurgators; and if the alleged victim was a serf, he needed only three. In the same way, if a freeman was charged with the murder of a noble, he needed seventeen compurgators of his own rank; if charged with the murder of another freeman, eleven; and if said to have murdered a serf, only five. Again, a serf, to free himself from the charge of murder in the case of a nobleman, needed thirty-five compurgators; in the case of a freeman, twenty-three; and in the case of another serf, twelve.

The whole Germanic idea of proof rested upon the theory that a man would rather confess himself in the wrong than incur the divine vengeance for broken faith. This same theory of the divine agency in discovering truth in human affairs is seen in two other forms of legal evidence, which seem to us, if possible, still more singular, in the ordeal and in the wager of battle. These forms of proof were called for when the proof by oath was not satisfactory, or for any reason could not be used. The most common forms of the ordeal were those by lot, by plunging the arm into hot water or into fire, carrying hot iron, standing with outstretched arms until one of the parties to the case falls exhausted, or eating of the consecrated host, in the expectation that God would, by some special act of vengeance, punish the wretch who should dare perform this sacred rite with a lie upon his lips. The "Ordeal."

The cases recorded, in which the person appealing to one of these ordeals and actually escaping the natural consequences of the act, — for instance, of actually plunging the hand into boiling water without injury, — are very rare, and may as easily be explained as any other miraculous occurrences; but it is probable that the dread of bringing down the anger of God was often sufficient to deter the culprit from making any attempt to clear himself, and, of course, to decline the challenge was to confess guilt.[1] The same may be said of the

[1] The following is a curious case of the use of the lot as a means of determining the divine judgment: —

Lex Fris. tit. xiv. De homine in turba occiso.

If any man be slain in a sedition or riot, and the homicide cannot

wager of battle. In an age when men were chiefly occupied in warfare it was natural that this should have been a favorite method of deciding any difference of opinion, and that what had, perhaps, once been merely a fight to win a point by brute force should come to be looked upon as the actual expression of the divine will.

The "wager of battle."

There can be little doubt that the ideas underlying these peculiar legal forms have their roots far back in the heathen times, and were then carried over into later conditions, and given a

be discovered on account of the multitude of those present, he who seeks the composition may charge seven men with the murder, and each of these must purify himself from the charge by an oath with eleven compurgators ("sua duodecima manu"). Then they are to be led to the church, and lots are to be placed on the altar, or, if it does not happen to be near a church, on the relics of saints. And the lots are to be as follows: two sticks, cut from a rod, which they call "tenos," are placed on the altar, one of them marked with a cross, the other without a mark, and both wrapped in clean wool. A priest, if one be present, or if not, an innocent boy, takes one of the sticks from the altar, and meanwhile God is called upon to show by some evident sign whether those seven who swore about the murder swore truly. If the stick with the cross on it is taken, they are innocent; but if the other be taken, then each one of the seven must make his own lot, *i.e.* a "tenum" of rod, and mark it with his own sign, so that he and the rest may recognize it, and then wrap it in clean wool and lay it on the altar or the relics. Then a priest, or as before, an innocent boy, shall take up each one of the lots by itself and ask to whom it belongs. He whose lot happens to be the last shall pay the composition, the rest whose lots were taken up first are free.

The ordeal by lot.

If, however, he (the priest or the boy) shall at the first drawing have drawn the lot marked with the cross, the seven, as has been said, are innocent; but he, if he chooses, may charge others with the murder, and whoever is charged must clear himself by an oath with eleven

Christian or semi-Christian tinge. It may seem incredible to us that there should be any real connection between the strength of a man's right arm and the justice of his cause, but we have to remember, that to the German, it was not the man's own strength, but the power of God working through him, which was the real expression of justice. Perhaps the most striking and singular case of this profound conviction of the justice of the wager of battle is seen in a story told by the Saxon chronicler, Widukind, writing in the tenth century: —

"Then a contest arose over a difference in the law, some maintaining that grandchildren whose fathers were dead, were not entitled to receive an equal share of the grandfather's property with the uncles. Then the king (Otto I.) called a general assembly of the people at the palace of Stela, and it was decided to leave the

compurgators ("sua duodecima manu"), and this shall be sufficient for the accuser; nor can he compel any one further to the lot.

The following is a formula for the use of those who are to conduct the ordeal of the red-hot iron: —

After the charge has been legally made and three days have been spent in fasting and prayer, the priest, clothed in the sacred vestments, excepting the chasuble, shall take with tongs a piece of iron which has been placed before the altar, and, chanting the hymn of the three youths, "Benedicite opera omnia," shall carry it to the fire and shall say this prayer above the place, that the fire may be for the fulfilment of justice: — The ordeal by hot iron.

"Bless, O Lord God, this place, that we here may have holiness, purity, bravery, and victory, virtue, humility, goodness, leniency, and fulness of law, and obedience to God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."

After this the iron shall be placed in the fire and holy water sprinkled upon it, and while it is heating let the mass be celebrated. Then when the priest has taken the eucharist, let him call upon the man who is to be tried and cause him to communicate. Then the

question to the judgment of referees. But the king, following better counsel and being unwilling that men of rank and elders of the people should be so dishonorably treated, commanded that the case should be settled by wager of battle. In this test the party which favored the equality of the grandchildren with the uncles won the battle, and it was declared law forever that the grandchildren should divide the inheritance with the uncles on equal terms."— Widukind, *Saxon Chronicle*, 938.

The question here, it will be seen, was a purely legal one, and yet the settlement of it in what we should call a legal way, by the judgment of competent men, seemed to the king dishonorable. Nothing less than the clear judgment of God, as shown in the issue of a combat at arms, seemed a complete settlement of so large a question.

It is more than probable that there is some connection unknown to us between the ancient idea of the right of every individual German to seek remedy for his own wrongs and the notion that if right was sought in that

priest shall sprinkle holy water upon the iron and say: "May the blessing of God the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit descend upon this iron, that it may rightly declare the judgment of God." Then the accused shall carry the iron a space of nine feet. His hand shall be bound up for three days under seal, and if any foul matter shall be found in the mark of the iron, he shall be declared guilty, but if it comes out clean, praise be to God.

The following is the process of judgment with the Psalter, used in a trial for theft:—

The ordeal by the Psalter.

Let one piece of wood be prepared, with a head to it, and laid in the Psalter at the verse, "Thou art just, O Lord, and thy judgment is right." Then let the Psalter be closed and strongly tied, with the head of the stick projecting from it. Then let another piece of wood be made with a hole in it, in which the head of the first piece is to be placed so that the Psalter will hang and turn freely in it. Then let two persons hold the

way, the divine power would never let the wrong man win. Certainly in the time we are studying the step from one idea to the other had been taken.

And yet it seems pretty clear that there were from very early times men who believed that these methods of getting at truth were not the best, and who did what they could to persuade the people to give up the right of appeal to arms, and have their disputes settled according to recognized principles of law, by the regular officers of justice. Especially the Church was generally to be found on the side of order and decency, as against the rude and violent methods of a barbarous people. As time goes on, we see evident traces of clerical and royal interference with these precious privileges, and a gradual approach toward such methods of justice as were to be learned from the law of the Romans.

Influence of the Church.

Here is a curious illustration of just this process, taken from the history of Gregory of Tours, and show-

stick with the Psalter hanging between them, and let the suspected person stand before them. One of those who hold the Psalter shall say to the other three times, "He has this thing"; and the other shall three times answer, "He has it not." Then the priest shall say, "May He deign to make this clear to us, by whose judgment all things in heaven and earth are governed. Thou art just, O Lord, and thy judgment is right. Turn away the iniquity of my enemies, and in thy truth scatter them."

Prayer: Almighty and everlasting God, who hast created all things out of nothing, and who hast made man from the dust of the earth, we beseech thee by the intercession of Mary the most blessed mother of God, that thou wilt make trial concerning this thing of which we are uncertain, so that, if this man be guiltless, this book which we hold in our hands may turn with the course of the sun; but, if he be guilty, that it may turn in the opposite direction.

ing how things were going in the Frankish kingdom about the year 600. A certain Sicharius got into a quarrel with a neighboring freeman during a somewhat riotous celebration of Christmas, and in the course of the affair lost several of his servingmen and a quantity of personal property. He chose to bring a complaint before the court at Tours, and easily got his verdict for damages; but unfortunately the law allowed an interval of forty days before the money must be paid, and meanwhile the strain upon the patience of poor law-abiding Sicharius was too much for him. Likely enough that his more restless neighbors may have openly ridiculed him for choosing the tame process of the law when he might have had such a glorious feud. He gathers his relatives about him, breaks into his enemy's house, murders him, his son, and his brother, with several servingmen, and carries off not only his own property, but more too. This was the second act of the feud. But now comes in the bishop, Gregory himself, and promises that if the two parties will submit the quarrel to the court, he will pay the fine of Sicharius. Sicharius was willing, as well he might be, but the son of his murdered enemy, Chramnisind by name, refuses, and insists on his right of revenge. Sicharius sets out for the king's court to bring the case before the highest tribunal. The rumor spreads that he has been murdered on the way, and Chramnisind with his relatives falls upon his estate, burns several houses, murders several servingmen again, and carries off all the cattle and other plunder that he can get at. This is the third act. Sicharius and Chramnisind are now brought before the court, and a decision

Illustration from sixth century.

is reached. Chramnisind not only gets off without any penalty, but actually receives from Sicharius, who has throughout been the less ferocious of the two parties, one-half of what he would have received if he had not chosen to seek vengeance himself. The explanation of this is probably that while Chramnisind had confined himself to destruction of property and slaves, Sicharius had had the misfortune to murder three free-born Franks.

The two enemies now became bosom friends; but some time afterward, at a grand supper in the house of Chramnisind, Sicharius, heated with wine, cannot help saying: "You ought to be greatly obliged to me, my friend, for murdering your relations; the money I had to pay you has quite set you up in the world." Hereupon the old barbarian passion flames out again, and Chramnisind says to himself: "If I don't avenge the murder of my relatives I deserve to lose the name of a man." He suddenly blows out the lights and splits the skull of Sicharius with his dagger. This is the fourth act. He then strips the body, hangs it naked to his gate-post, and hastens to the king. Finally, after proving that Sicharius had murdered his relatives, he recovers his honor, and so far as we know lived and died a respectable gentleman. — Greg. Turonensis VII. 47, IX. 19.

The "Wergeld."

The same process of transition from a notion of law which made it right for every man to revenge his own wrongs by taking a life for a life, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, to the more civilized notion of paying a well-defined penalty for such an offence, is seen in the whole matter of crimes among

the Germans. Through all the folk-laws there appears one curious fundamental idea, that a man's life has a given worth in money. No doubt this was a pretty late stage in the legal growth of these people; it could hardly have been true until the idea of the common use of money as a measure of values had made its way among them. The value of a man was called his "Wergeld" (man-money), and varied considerably among the different tribes. It rested perhaps originally upon the amount of land owned by the given man, but that had been forgotten, and it depended upon the rank of the man in society. The wergeld, like all other values, was reckoned in shillings (*solidi*), an amount which we cannot estimate with any great certainty; but we may form some idea of how much a man was worth from the fact that in the law of the Alemanni a first-rate cow was worth one solidus and two-thirds, while the wergeld of a freeman was two hundred solidi. According to the Salic law the ordinary Frankish freeman was worth two hundred, and the ordinary Roman landholder one hundred; but if these were in the special service of the king (*trustis*), their wergeld was tripled. The Frisian noble was worth eighty shillings; the freeman, fifty-three shillings and one penny; and the serf (*litus*), twenty-seven less one penny.

Lesser offences were formerly, no doubt, settled on the eye-for-an-eye principle; but in process of time a given value had come to be fixed upon each offence, and the effort of the law was to induce men to make use of these fines instead of claiming the ancient right of retaliation. The most singular nicety in this regard is seen in the Frisian law, one of those in which the

original German character had been most carefully preserved.

Graduated penalties.

Long experience in deciding actual cases had probably taught the judges about how much the criminal would be willing to pay rather than resort to arms, and when the law came to be written down, these figures were given to serve as the rule of the future. Thus, in the Frisian law, if a man's nose were cut off, he received twenty shillings; if it were only pierced through, fifteen. An eyebrow was worth two shillings; a canine tooth, three; a molar, four. A hand cost almost as much as the full wergeld; a thumb, thirteen and a third shillings; the forefinger, seven; the middle finger, six and two-thirds; the ring finger, eight; the little finger, six. If several wounds were made with one blow, they were measured, and the longest one was paid for according to its length, but just how much we are not told. Evidently this latter provision was not definite enough to suit the needs of justice, for in the later "additions of the wise men" we find that in this case of several wounds made by one blow, the wounded man must first swear that such was the case, and then each wound was to be paid for as follows: if it was as long as the first joint of the forefinger, one shilling; if as long as the first two joints, two shillings; if as long as the first two and half of the third, three shillings; and if the full length of the forefinger, four shillings. Then another shilling was added for the length of the space between the forefinger and the thumb; another, for the lower thumb-joint, making six; but if the wound was as long as the whole span, from the tip of the forefinger to the tip of the thumb, the price jumped sud-

denly to twenty-four shillings; and if it was longer only by the difference between this span and that of the thumb and the middle finger, the price rose to thirty-six. Evidently the good men who made these changes, lived at a time when strong efforts were being made to tame these wild men of the northern marshes, by making the punishment for wrong more severe than it had been.

The Frankish law as law of the conqueror.

We have spoken of the charity shown by the Germans toward the Romans in their conquest. The same charity in legal matters was shown also by the several tribes toward each other. As the Frankish arms finally prevailed over all the rest, so the Salic law came to be dominant over all the other Germanic laws of the continent. But it did not drive them out. It respected them, added to them, and tried to make them conform to its public necessities; but in all the private dealings of man with man, the conquered tribes were at liberty to go on as they had been living. When, after the conquest of the Saxons by Charlemagne, the Frankish count was sent into the Saxon country to administer law, it was Saxon law that he had to administer. Indeed, Charlemagne went so far as to have the laws of these conquered countries reduced to written form, and thus helped to preserve them to us.

The result was, that these old systems we have been studying continued pretty much as they had been, and formed the basis of legal action during the whole of the Middle Ages. They showed a remarkable power of adapting themselves to changing circumstances, and it was not until late in the Middle Ages that the

newly discovered and newly studied Roman law succeeded in driving them out of most of the continental countries. Even then the struggle was a long and bitter one. It was only because the whole idea of government on the continent had changed so much from the early liberty of the Germans to the monarchical notions of later times that the victory of the Roman law was possible. Where that change had not taken place, especially in England, the old laws, very much modified of course, but still much the same in spirit, remained, and we in America are living to-day under a system of law which has never, to any great extent, been affected by the principles of Roman imperialism.

German laws finally driven out by Roman.

CHAPTER IX.

RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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DURING all these years in which the South and West of Europe had been going through the change from the sovereignty of Rome to that of the Germanic peoples, one great institution, and one only, had gone on developing in power and influence. This was the **Christian Church**. It had been an age of violence and confusion. Rome had fallen, never to rise again. New nations of Germanic blood had come and gone upon the land which had once belonged to Rome. New customs, new laws, new languages, had taken the place of the one civilization, the one law, and the one language which had spread from Rome over all these southern and western lands. Finally the one Germanic nation of the Franks had brought all the rest under its rule and done what it could to reduce this confusion of law and life to order and uniformity. Its most useful helper in that great work was the Church under the form of the Roman papacy, and we must now try to see how this institution had grown from its first feeble beginnings up to the power and grandeur which we find it displaying at the time of Charlemagne. 800.

If you will read carefully in your New Testament the Acts of the Apostles and the Letters written by Paul and others to the first gatherings of persons who called themselves followers of Jesus, you will know as much as any one knows about the beginnings of the Christian Church. You will find that there were scattered about in the chief cities of the Roman Empire, especially in the eastern part of it, little groups of men and women who had found something in the teachings of Jesus which satisfied their desires for a higher life, better than the religion of Rome or that of

The beginnings of the Church.

any of her conquered provinces. From these little congregations, these teachings spread to more and more, until within a hundred years from the death of Jesus we find them taken up by men of learning and position, and becoming so popular that the Roman government began to think them dangerous and to try to put them down by persecution.

Causes of persecution.

You must learn to distinguish carefully between the *belief* of Christians and the *organization* of the Church. It may well be doubted if the Roman government would have cared to trouble the Christians simply on account of their beliefs, any more than it troubled the numerous other religious sects of the Empire. What really caused the Christians to be looked upon as especially dangerous to the state was their organization into something like a great secret society with branches in all parts of the Roman territory. We learn something of how the government felt about this matter from letters which passed between the Emperor Trajan and the famous writer **Pliny** the Younger, who was a Roman governor in Asia Minor. Pliny had done his best to find something wrong about the Christians, but without success, and wrote to ask the Emperor's orders, saying that so far as he could make out, their only offence was meeting in secret and performing certain harmless services to their God. Trajan replies that if any were known to be Christians, they were to be punished, but evidence against them was not to be sought for. He speaks of them very much as he does in another letter of certain fire companies which might be very good things, but were not to be tolerated because they were associations,

Pliny's letter to Trajan, about 110.

and associations were dangerous to the state. Indeed, we cannot wonder that a government which depended for its existence upon the prompt obedience of every subject should be very hard upon persons who did not like to serve in the army, would not go before the courts of law, would not take an oath, and, worst of all, would not worship the statue of the emperor — an act which was regarded as a test of loyalty.

So the government persecuted the Christians, and the more they were persecuted, the more they increased in numbers and influence. If at times the persecution became unbearable, they hid themselves in out-of-the-way places until it was over, or they came and offered themselves to their executioners, with such boldness and in such numbers that the work stopped for very weariness. This went on with long intervals of comparative toleration until finally an emperor who needed the support of all classes among his subjects became himself a Christian. The story of the conversion of **Constantine** reminds one so very strongly of the later story of the conversion of Clovis that one is inclined to fancy that it may have been borrowed for the purpose. Constantine was fighting with a rival emperor, Maxentius, in Italy, not far from Rome, when, just before a battle, he saw in broad daylight a glowing cross in the sky, bearing the words: "In this sign thou shalt conquer." He at once determined to become a Christian. Another legend is that Constantine adopted Christianity as a means of counteracting the magic arts of Maxentius; still another, that he could not find in any other form of religion so good a chance of forgiveness for the abominable crimes of which he had doubtless been guilty.

Conversion of Constantine.

Edict of Milan, 313.

But whatever his personal motives, the important fact for us is that as soon as he was master of Italy he joined with his fellow-emperor, **Licinius,** in publishing the **Edict of Milan,** which was the first general decree of toleration for the Christians. Until now no one had known how many and how strong the Christian believers were. All at once, as soon as the danger of persecution was taken away by the Edict of Milan, they showed what three hundred years of obscurity and contempt had done for them. In a moment we see the great church organization, as it had been growing all this time, fully developed and ready for the great work still before it. Its growth had been something like this: at first, scattered communities of Jews in the midst of the Greek or Roman population. For a while it was doubted whether any but Jews could properly be admitted to the Christian fellowship; but a more liberal view prevailed, and very soon the "gentile" population, as the Jews liked to call them, became far more important to the future of the Church than the Jews themselves. In other words, Christianity was declared to be a religion for all men everywhere, not merely for the men of one race. This was its first great triumph, and it was largely due to the insight and energy of **Paul,** who thus earned for himself the proud title of "Apostle to the Gentiles." How much organization there was in these early communities we do not know. It is most probable, however, that they were simply bodies of men and women, bound together by a common belief, and not as yet having a fixed form of government, because, as yet, they did not need it. Very

Earliest Church organization.

early we find persons among them called "*deacons*," whose business it was to attend to the wants of the poor, and not much later we meet with "*elders*" (presbyters) who appear as the leading persons of the community. Then we find one among these presbyters distinguished as the "overseeing presbyter" (*episcopal presbyter*, "*bishop*"). These officers had charge of the church service and the government of the community. They grew up because, as the congregation grew, there was need of some one to direct its affairs. Through all the bitter years of persecution the authority of the officers, especially of the bishop, grew and strengthened. The congregation needed and demanded its best man for its bishop, and he became the natural centre of the church life. In all this early period there was a bishop to each considerable church, and whatever authority he had was only over the presbyters, deacons, and members of that one church. At first, also, the church officers continued in their ordinary business like the rest of the church members. It was only gradually that they came to be separated from and supported by the other members. That was the church organization during its time of trial. We see in it still the reflection of that simplicity which the great teacher of humility had commanded. The time of trial was also the heroic age of Christianity, the age of its most eager defenders, its bravest martyrs, its grandest ideals.

The officers.

The bishop.

But now see how all this was changed when by the Edict of Milan the pressure of persecution was taken off the Church, and all the gathered energy of three hundred years was free to display itself. Hardly had Constantine made himself

The clergy becomes powerful.

master of the western world, when he turned his ambition toward the sole sovereignty of the Empire. A great victory over the Eastern Emperor Licinius gave him this highest earthly position. Within two years he called together the leaders of the Church to the first great general (*œcumenical*) council at Nicæa, just across the straits from Constantinople. Here we see an assembly as far as possible removed from that simplicity and humility which seemed becoming to the professed followers of Christ. It was a magnificent display of worldly power, the first grand exhibition of what seemed to be the Church triumphant, but what was really the Church entering upon an alliance with the State, — an alliance full of all dangers to both parties. These bishops who sat in council at Nicæa were far from being the mere heads of single congregations we have seen in the earlier Church. As the Church had grown, branches had been thrown out from these central congregations, and the bishop had kept a sort of sovereignty over the whole group of churches united around his own. And further, in the great cities, the man who had simply been the head of a persecuted and despised sect, found himself, now that Christianity was the religion of the Empire, the spiritual head of all the citizens. Henceforth there was no such thing as a separate Christian body united only by a common belief, and bound to keep itself high and pure for a light to the heathen world about it; but all the Roman world was Christian because the Emperor so willed it.

323.

Council at Nicæa, 325.

The Council of Nicæa brings us to the question of the *belief* of the Church. If you will go back again to

your New Testament and read ever so carefully the four different stories of the life and teaching of Jesus, you will see that he nowhere lays down a definite form of belief which he demanded of all his followers. Nor did he leave a single written word behind him which might serve as a guide to those who wished to understand his teaching. So that it is not strange that men were long at a loss to know just what Jesus had taught, and that different men understood it very differently. Just as it was with the organization, so it was with the belief; there was a long time of uncertainty, of very simple beliefs on the whole, and then as more learned men began to take an interest in Christianity, they tried to find meanings in it which we may be sure Jesus never dreamed of. Then these men were answered, and so a spirit of strife and contention grew up inside the Church, which made the heathen ridicule it, and say that the Christians did not know what they did believe.

Growth of Church doctrine.

Most of these discussions were about points so complicated that it would be too much for us to expect to understand them; but there was one which we cannot pass without a word. Men had not been content to take the simple account of Jesus as it appears in the New Testament stories, but had made a mystery out of it, and had gone into violent controversies on the question whether Jesus was God, or a man, or both. Finally, a few years before the Council of Nicæa, the question was taken up by an Egyptian presbyter, named **Arius**, on one side, and **Athanasius**, afterward the bishop of Alexandria, on the other. Both admitted that Jesus was the Son of God,

The Arian controversy.

who had become an actual flesh-and-blood man to redeem the world from sin. Athanasius maintained, however, that Jesus was of the *same substance* with God and *co-eternal* with Him, while Arius denied both these points, because it seemed to him that Athanasius was either making two gods, or else dividing God into two parts.

The creed of Nicæa, 325.

The Council of Nicæa was called mainly to settle this Arian-Athanasian controversy. It decided by a great majority in favor of Athanasius, and his doctrine has remained to this day the belief of the orthodox Catholic Church, both Greek and Roman, and has been kept by the vast majority of the Protestant churches which grew out of the Roman Catholic. Thus we see that at the time of the Council of Nicæa the Church had taken on the form, both as to belief and organization, which it was to maintain for fifteen hundred years, and for how much longer we cannot even guess. We have now two other points in its growth to study, — the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches and the rise of the Roman papacy.

Division of the Church,

The separation of the Eastern and Western Churches was the result of many causes. In spite of the fact that Rome had conquered all the countries lying about the Mediterranean, it was still clear that all of these countries lying east of the Adriatic formed a Greek world. Their inhabitants talked Greek and thought Greek. They had for generations been educated by Greeks according to Greek modes of thought. West of the Adriatic all was in the same way, Latin. The people had taken on the Roman stamp and had

become famous for just the qualities which had made the power of Rome, for government and law and military skill. If everywhere in this western world we find Greek schools and an enthusiastic reverence for Greek learning, this was only a varnish upon a civilization which was really Roman. And when the Church came to be spread over the whole Empire, it, too, showed the effects of this different character of the Eastern and Western populations. The great quarrels about doctrine raged almost wholly in the East, where the people were more highly educated and given to speculations of every sort. Even after the Council of Nicæa the same controversies went on in the East under other forms, whereas the Western Church accepted the Nicene decrees as final and never wavered from the Athanasian faith. In the same way, when it came to organization, we find the Eastern Church without any real centre of government or authority, while the Western churches grew into a solid body about Rome as a centre.

(a) by difference of civilization;

Then again, the Church was greatly affected by the division of the Empire itself. This had begun before the time of Constantine, and though he actually governed both halves, still it was clear that they were two halves, and not a whole, as they had been in the time of Augustus. From the time of Diocletian the city of Rome had been less and less popular as an imperial residence, and when Constantine became sole Emperor, he gave the final blow to the political supremacy of Rome by building for himself a new capital on the shores of the Bosphorus, which he called Constantinople. At his

(b) by the political division;

327.

death the Empire was again divided, and from that time on, in spite of an occasional reunion in one hand, there were always two centres of government. The close connection of the government with the Church then brought it about that the Church also began more and more to group itself about the same two centres.

(c) by doctrinal differences.

Finally, resulting from these differences in the character of the people and in method of growth, there began to be differences of doctrine upon which the Eastern and Western Churches were sharply divided. These were chiefly the doctrines with regard to the worship of images, and then, after the violence of that controversy had subsided, the question of the so-called "procession of the Holy Spirit." It would not be worth our while to go into these questions. You will often hear it said that they were the cause of the separation of the churches, but the thing to be remembered is that this separation was a long, slow process, growing out of deep-seated differences of character and tradition in the two populations. Numerous attempts were made to unite them; but however willing a few leading men might be to come to an agreement, the churches as a whole were too widely apart ever to hope for a real union.

Growth of the Roman papacy,

Some of the same causes we have just been studying were working at the same time to help on the growth of the most important church institution with which we shall have anything to do — the **Roman Papacy**. The church in Rome was one of the earliest Christian congregations. We should know this by the letters of Paul written to the Roman Christians. In later times the Roman church claimed that it had

been founded by the Apostle Peter, but this cannot be proved. Of course the church of the largest and most important city of the West, the seat of the imperial government, and the chief centre of trade, must needs have become also a centre of church life. It became a vigorous mother-church, from which branches were sent out to all the countries of the West. If now these branch churches were at any moment uncertain about the exact doctrine or the precise rule of church government, they would naturally send to ask the opinion of the Roman bishop, and these opinions, given at first by way of advice and counsel, soon came to have a sort of legal force. If the Roman church accepted this or that point of doctrine, this was generally enough to make it accepted by all the churches of the West, and by west we mean the countries lying westward from the Adriatic Sea. The Latin mind could not understand the finer distinctions of the Eastern speculation, and was content to take its belief ready-made from the authority which seemed most likely to have the truth of the matter. Thus we have seen that while the East was torn by the great Arian controversy, the whole Church of the West stood firmly under the lead of Rome for the Athanasian doctrine, and this could not fail to strengthen the belief throughout the West that Rome was its natural head.

(*a*) by political headship of Rome;

So in the case of some important questions affecting the membership of the growing Church. Some maintained that church members who, through fear of persecution, had denied their belief were no longer Christians. Others said, that if a man had been admitted to Christianity by a priest who was not in all respects

(*b*) by doctrinal moderation;

sound in doctrine, he was not a proper Christian, and must be baptized over again by a true believer. On both these points the Church of Rome took the Catholic view that the Church was not a close corporation, but was open to every one who in good faith wanted to be a member of it; and this view, after some hard struggles, prevailed.

(c) by gaining a "temporal power."

Then again, when the emperors began to live less at Rome, especially after the building of Constantinople, the church of Rome was left more free to exercise an influence upon the government of the city. After Constantine it began to get lands and wealth very fast, and every gain of this sort was used to add to its moral control over the minds of men. It was believed for many centuries that Constantine had given to the Roman bishop a great quantity of land in Italy, over which he might rule like a king over his people. It was not until the fifteenth century that this story was proved to be false, but the fact that men believed it made them look upon the later gains of land and sovereignty by the Roman bishops as only a proper carrying out of Constantine's intentions. Such men, however, as the great poet **Dante**, who lived in the early part of the fourteenth century, saw the dangers of this mingling of worldly power with spiritual, and cursed the Bishop Silvester, who was supposed to have received the gift of Constantine, as the worst enemy the Church had ever had.

The name "Pope."

Thus in all these ways the Roman bishopric was coming to be looked up to as the leader of the Western Church. The word "papa" (pope) had long been in common use for any bishop, as an affection-

ate form of address, but now from the fourth century onward it was assumed as a title of especial dignity by the bishops of Rome, whom we may now, therefore, always call "popes," remembering that both the name and the power were of slow growth, and had nothing to do with the original position of the Roman bishopric.

The power of the popes was again enormously increased when the German barbarians came sweeping over the lands of the Empire. The Germans were Christians by that time, it is true, but they were Arian Christians, and the faithful Catholics of the western world turned for support and consolation to the source whence they had been accustomed to receive advice upon all Church matters. The popes of the fifth century were men of quite remarkable character, who fully understood their great opportunity and were disposed to made the most of it. The chief of these men was **Leo the Great**, the first in the line of popes who comprehended the wide possibilities of the future. There is no part of the policy of the future papacy which we do not see clearly outlined in the work of Leo. We find him at one moment as head of the Roman city government, displaying all the splendor of his office to check the ravages of Attila the Hun and of Gaiseric the Vandal. At another we see him assuming the right to punish a bishop in Gaul for what he considered a violation of the papal rights. The resistance he met with here shows how far the Western Church was as yet from tamely submitting to the extreme claims of papal authority. Again, we hear him preaching with such effect against a certain most offen-

Papacy of Leo the Great, 440-461.

440-461.

452.

455.

sive form of wrong belief in the Church of Italy, that an imperial edict was published which ordered all who shared this belief to be driven from the country. And finally, we find him taking so decisive and vigorous action in a great doctrinal controversy which was tearing the Church to pieces, that he seemed for the moment to be the one man in the whole Christian world who knew just what the Church needed.

This controversy was one of those disputes arising out of the Arian-Athanasian troubles which were supposed to have been settled at Nicæa a century and a quarter before. A council had been held at Ephesus, in Asia Minor, in 449, at which the priests of one party had forced those of the other by violence to agree with them, at which even the patriarch of Alexandria is said to have beaten the patriarch of Constantinople so that he died of his wounds. No wonder that this gathering has been known in history as the "Robber-council" of Ephesus. This was just at the time when the feeble Emperor Theodosius II. died, and the wise woman **Pulcheria** became Empress.[1] A new council was called at **Chalcedon**, close by Constantinople, where the government could at least keep order. This was Leo's opportunity. He drew up a statement of his belief on the disputed questions, and sent it by his representatives to Chalcedon. He had in fact tried the same plan at Ephesus, but what he had to say had been received with open contempt. This time, however, his words were heard with the greatest respect, and the council passed a decree in complete agreement with Leo's opinion. The whole

Council of Chalcedon, **451.**

[1] See page 49.

Western Church had spoken by the mouth of the papacy, and its belief was now declared by a most imposing assembly to be the true doctrine of Christendom. We can well understand how much this must have done to raise the importance of Rome as the head and authoritative voice of the Western Church.

The "Petrine supremacy."

With all these claims upon the respect and gratitude of the Western Church, we might suppose that the papacy would have been content to remain, what it had solid grounds for calling itself, the spiritual leader of the West. But it went further than this, and claimed not only a *leadership*, but a divinely appointed *authority* or right of government, and this not only over the West, but over the East as well. It supported this claim by what is called the theory of the "Petrine supremacy." This theory included several stages. 1. Peter was given by Jesus authority over the other apostles, hence 2. A church founded by Peter would have rights of authority over those founded in any other way. 3. Peter was the first bishop of Rome. 4. The successors of Peter would have authority over the successors of all other founders of churches, therefore 5. The Roman bishop or pope had authority over all the churches of Christendom. You will see that this theory was of especial value to the Roman church, because it put its claim to authority on the ground of a divine commission, and thus made it quite independent of any accidents which might at some time have changed those other and more practical foundations which we have been studying. If, for instance, Rome had been destroyed, if all Italy had been turned into a desert, still the divine commission would have

remained, and the successor of Peter, whoever he might be, would have had a right to claim the headship of the Church. One cannot help asking what, upon just this claim of a divine commission, was to be said of the rights of the Church at Jerusalem, which had a no less sacred founder than Christ himself.

The Papacy under the barbarians. 476-555.

After the fall of the Western Empire the papacy became properly the subject of the Emperor at Constantinople. In fact, however, the barbarian rulers of Italy, Odoacer, Theodoric, and his Ostrogothic successors, acted as the protectors, and at times as the dictators, of the Roman bishops, while the connection of the latter with their proper sovereigns in the East was as feeble as it was remote. The re-conquest of Italy under Justinian brought back the allegiance of Rome once more to the imperial government, and there it nominally remained until the coronation of Charlemagne in the year 800. But even in this interval there was little to unite the papacy to Constantinople, and there was much to separate them. The Lombard occupation of Italy drew about Rome a fiery circle of barbarian warfare which the Empire was powerless to break. During this time arose the controversy about image-worship, which was separating the two churches more and more, and whatever separated the churches, helped to make the papacy ever more independent of all other authority and more able to insist upon its own authority over the whole spiritual life of the western world.

Between Leo the Great and Charlemagne only one name among the popes calls for our attention. Gregory the Great fills in the outline of the papal policy drawn

by Leo so completely that with him we may regard the ideal of the mediæval papacy as pretty nearly established. In Gregory we see the bishop of Rome attending with painful minuteness to all the details of his office, as head of that great congregation, but we see still more the leader of western Christianity. His numerous letters show him to us on the one hand directing the work of the papal farms, now scattered through all Italy, regulating expenses or enforcing justice; and on the other hand actively concerned in whatever tended to advance and elevate the cause of the Church everywhere. On the whole, the administration of Gregory shows the papacy in perhaps its fairest light. He was personally free from ambition, even of the sort which had caused Leo to press to the utmost the supremacy of Rome over other churches. He refused to be called by any high-sounding titles, and more than once reminds his fellow-bishops of the "Apostolic" churches that he was only their equal, not their superior. If this fair ideal of a papacy could have been maintained, its history would have been far more worthy of its high calling. Gregory himself was a monk, and his plan of a renewed and active Christianity rested largely upon a monastic basis. To understand this we have only to remember that those were times when a man could hardly hope to keep himself clean from the violence and tumult of the world, except by getting out of the world, and shutting himself up where he could work and live as he would, and not as other men about him were doing. So that we must not hastily condemn Gregory and many others after him who took that way

Papacy of Gregory the Great, **590-604.**

of reaching an end which we should try to reach by other means.

Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons.

One event of Gregory's papacy is especially important for us, — the conversion of England. To understand this we shall have to go back pretty far and see how things were in England before Gregory's time. You will remember that the earliest inhabitants of Great Britain about whom we know anything were **Kelts**, a race different from any of those with which we have thus far had to do. These Kelts had been partially conquered about fifty years before Christ by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, and a Roman government had been set up over a great part of England. But Romans had never gone to England in any great numbers, and the great body of the population had remained Keltic or British, living under a Roman military government but not very much changed in any way by it.

Roman occupation of England.

411.

This Roman occupation went on until the year after Alaric had sacked the city of Rome, when the legions had been called away from England to defend Italy, and the British Kelts had been left to themselves.

Beginnings of the British church.

Long, long before this time, no one knows exactly when or exactly how, Christianity had taken a strong hold in Britain. It may have come through Roman soldiers or Roman traders, but the one thing that is fairly clear about it is, that it did not come from the city of Rome itself. It grew especially in the western part of England, in Ireland, and in Scotland. The greatest progress was made here during the fifth century. The famous **St. Patrick** is

supposed to have made his missionary journeys in Ireland between 430 and 493. But now, in 449, came a new people to conquer the Kelts of Britain and to change their whole condition as the Romans had never done. In 449 the first swarms of **449.** German invaders landed on the shores of Kent, near the mouth of the river Thames. They were a mixture of Jutes, Angles and Saxons from the North of Germany, near the mouth of the Elbe, and their united forces began soon to be known as the **Anglo-Saxon**[1] people. They were a far wilder race than the other German peoples we have been studying, because they had always lived so much farther from civilizing contact with the Romans. They were heathens, who had never heard the name of Christ. Their conquest of England was slow but steady. In a little more than a century Christianity had almost disappeared from England proper, and was to be found only in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

That was the state of things when the monk Gregory, not as yet chosen pope, while passing one day through the slave-market in Rome, saw a group of beautiful, fair-haired boys put up for sale, and inquired who they were. "Angles," was the answer. "Well named," said Gregory, "for they are beautiful as angels; where are they from?" "Deira." "Their land shall be freed from the ire of God (*de ira*). What is their king's name?" "Ælla." "He shall be taught to sing 'Allelujah.'" And Gregory determined that he would do what he could to recover the land of

Mission of St. Augustine.

[1] I use the word "Anglo-Saxon" to mark, a little more clearly than the word "English" might do, the distinction from the "British."

England to the cause of Christ. When he became pope, he remembered his purpose and sent the monk **Augustine** with forty companions to preach the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxons. His work was favored by the king of Kent, whose wife was already a Christian, and in the course of two generations the great body of the southern Anglo-Saxons, following the example of their kings, had become converted. You will notice that this conversion, unlike that of the British, had come directly from Rome. There must come a time when these two churches would come into conflict. The differences seem slight to us. The British church celebrated Easter on a different day, and its monks shaved their heads after a different fashion. But underneath these trifling differences was the bitter hatred of the conquered against the conqueror, a feeling so violent that it was long before the Keltic Christians would help the Roman missionaries to convert the northern Anglo-Saxons. At last they began this work, and it was then, when a part of the Anglo-Saxons had been converted to the Roman, and a part to the British, forms of Christianity, that the trouble came. Many meetings were held, and the discussions were hot enough; but as might have been expected, the Roman speakers, with all their great history and the splendid system of Rome behind them, prevailed. The Council of Whitby settled the question of the allegiance of the Anglo-Saxon church. "If it be indeed true," said King Oswy of Northumbria, "that St. Peter holds the keys of heaven, then I will not oppose him, lest when I come to heaven, there be no one to open the gates to

596.

The Anglo-Saxon church becomes Roman.

Council of Whitby,

664.

me." As flimsy a reason, you may think, as had been that of Clovis, but no less important in binding closely to the Roman papacy another of the great Germanic nations, out of which the New Europe was to be built.

Papacy insignificant after Gregory I., 604.

For something more than a hundred years after the death of Gregory the Great the papacy goes on with very little to distinguish it from any other bishopric, under the sovereignty of the Eastern Emperor. If it had kept on in that connection, drawn into every political squabble of the court, as the bishopric of Constantinople was, it would hardly have been worth our study. Only when the papacy comes into its alliance of offence and defence with the Frankish kingdom does it enter upon its real place as a great agent in the making of that same New Europe.

CHAPTER X.

FRANKS AND MOHAMMEDANS, 638-741.

AUTHORITIES: — Next to Gregory of Tours comes (about 650) a writer of whom nothing is known, but who passes under the name of FREDEGARIUS. He begins his chronicle with the beginning of the world, and comes finally to the story of his own times. After him (about 725) appears a work called "The Deeds of the Frankish Kings" (*Gesta Francorum*), by an author whose very name is unknown. These two writers give us a selection from the mass of popular legends which were current in their day, which Gregory does not give, and which but for them would have been lost. They both have an eye for politics, as Gregory has for church affairs. Here is a choice specimen from Fredegarius about the birth of Clovis: —

"When Basina, wife of Bisinus, king of Thuringia, heard that Childeric had been made king of the Franks, she left Bisinus and came in all haste to Childeric. And when he anxiously inquired why she had come to him from such a distance, she said: 'Because I know thy bravery, have I come to be with thee. For if I knew any man under heaven braver than thou, I would have gone to him." Then Childeric was pleased with her beauty and took her to wife.

"That night she said to him, 'Go out quietly and tell thy handmaid what thou seest in the outer court of the palace.' So he arose, and saw the figures of beasts like lions and unicorns and leopards wandering about in the courtyard. This he reported to his wife, and she said to him, 'My lord, go out again and tell thy handmaid what thou hast seen.' He went out again and saw figures as of bears and wolves roaming about. And when he had told her all this, she bade him go out once more and tell her what he saw. The third time he saw figures as of dogs and other small animals quarrelling and fighting with each other.

"Next morning Basina said to Childeric: 'What thou hast seen in a vision is sure, and this is the interpretation of it. A son shall be born to us who will be strong as a lion, and his sons will be strong as a leopard and a unicorn. Their children will be strong and greedy, like bears and wolves. Those whom thou sawest when thou wentest out for the third time will be the last rulers of thy line. They will rule like dogs, and their power will be like that of the lesser beasts. The many other small animals which were quarrelling and fighting with each other are the peoples, which, without fear of the rulers, shall war one upon the other.'

"Thereupon Basina conceived and bore a son named Clovis, a mighty man and a brave fighter, like a lion, greater than all other kings."

Another from the *Gesta Francorum*: —

"When Clovis, after the conquest of the Visigoths came back to Tours, he made the church of St. Martin many presents. A horse which he had formerly given to the said church had been handed over to the church poor. The king wanted it back again, and sent a hundred gold solidi for it; but no horse came. Then he said, 'Send them another hundred!' And when these were sent, the horse came. Then the king was glad, and said, 'Sure enough, St. Martin is a good friend in need, but he is a hard one at a bargain.'"

Modern Works: — Theodor Breysig: Jahrbücher des Frankischen Reiches, 714–741. — W. C. Perry: The Franks to the Death of King Pepin. 1857. — W. Irving: Mahomet and his Successors. 2 vols. N.Y. 1850. — E. Renan: Mahomet and the Origins of Islam. In his Studies of Religious History. 1864. — Sir Wm. Muir: Life of Mahomet and History of Islam to the Hegira. 4 vols. Lond. 1877. — Sir Wm. Muir: The Corân, its Composition and Teaching, and the Testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures. 1878. — Mohammed: The Qur'ân. Transl. by E. H. Palmer. Oxf. 1880.

We have followed the German races to their settlement on the lands of Rome. We have seen something of their most marked differences from the great nation

they had conquered, and we have seen how one among them had been chosen to be the leader of the rest in the development of a new civilization for Europe. We have been dealing mainly with conquests of arms, with wild displays of human passion and greed for lands and gold; but we have tried to see also that in the midst of all this confusion and overthrow of old things there were signs of a new order. It was with this purpose that we have studied the rise of the Christian Church and busied ourselves, though ever so slightly, with the laws of the new race, for out of these two possessions of the Germanic peoples the whole future history of Europe was to grow.

It was, of course, little more than a blind instinct of conquest which had led the Franks of Clovis to spread their power over all the Germanic inhabitants of Gaul, and then to reach out beyond the Rhine and the Alps until, at the time we left them, they had become distinctly the head of the Germans on the continent. We are now coming to a time when this blind instinct was to become a steady purpose in the hands of men who were capable of conceiving and carrying out a great idea. These men were the so-called Carolingian rulers of the Franks, and the idea was the union of all the continental Germans, not only such as had come on to the Roman soil, but also such as were still living in their native forests and marshes, under one government and one religion.

Jealousy of royal power.

Thus far, as we have seen, the Germans had never taken kindly to any permanent royal power. They had been willing to unite under kings for the purpose of conquest, but, once settled in their new lands, they had kept their old jealousy of a single power and

had claimed their part of the conquered land as being only their right. This jealousy of the kings is marked everywhere, but especially so among the Franks. There is a famous story of their earliest conquest which illustrates this. After a battle the chief men met to divide the spoil, and the king claimed, in addition to his proper share, a certain very beautiful vase. One of the freemen objected, and when the king insisted, the rude warrior dashed the vase to pieces. It was this same temper which caused the Frankish nobility, even earlier than the time of Dagobert, to feel that it had interests different from and often hostile to those of the king. Dagobert himself seems to have been strong enough in the affections of his people, to keep down the gathering discontent; but he was the last king who could do this.

The spirit of independence in the Frankish nobility began, from the time of Dagobert, to centre more and more about that officer of the court whom we have already met under the name of the **Major Domus**. This office had at first been one of menial personal service about a chieftain, and had then come to be a post of very high honor, just as the valet of a great man comes to feel and to be regarded by others as a great man himself. By the time of Dagobert it was an office something like that of a prime minister, which, after all, means only "first servant." In those days of constant fighting of course such an office could be held only by a man of first-rate military capacity, and as the character of the king came to be less and less that of a real leader of men, and more and more that of a kind of sacred nobody, the importance of the fighting minister became greater and greater. He was

The "Major Domus."

the leader of the army and the chief adviser of the king in all public affairs. The nobility seem to have fancied that in supporting the power of one of their own number they were securing themselves against the king, little thinking that they were raising up a new tyrant who might prove as much more dangerous than the old one as he was more powerful.

The "Do-nothing kings."

The death of Dagobert was followed by a new period of meaningless struggles for power among his feeble descendants. Our only interest in these conflicts is to notice that they appear now hardly as conflicts between the rival kings themselves, but rather between the majors domus of the different provinces, especially of Austrasia and Neustria. The kings of this miserable period generally came to the throne very young, and hardly any of them lived to grow up. They were kept in an honorable seclusion upon some of their estates, and were only brought out once or twice a year, when they made a sort of procession before the people, mounted upon their car of state, were instructed what they should say to the assembly, and then carried home again. The real government was wholly in the hands of the majors domus. These are the kings who figure in French history as the "Do-nothing kings" (*Rois Fainéants*).

Premature attempt of Grimoald.

In Austrasia the office of the major domus had come into the hands of the family which afterward became famous as the **Carolingian**. The earliest member with whom we have to deal is Pippin of Landen, who was the minister of Dagobert. When Pippin died, two years after Dagobert, the nobles at once chose his son Grimoald to succeed

him. Grimoald governed Austrasia for fourteen years, until the death of Dagobert's son, and then it seemed to him that the time had come to give up the farce of maintaining at the same time a useful minister and a useless king, and so he proclaimed his own son king of Austrasia. But he had got ahead of his time. The nobles had found the fiction of a kingdom too convenient to be willing to give it up yet; they rose against Grimoald and put him and his luckless son to death.

654.

In Neustria affairs were taking a somewhat different turn. The major domus there was Ebroin, a man of extraordinary ability. Instead of resting his power upon the support of the nobility, he had done everything to make them hate him, with the apparent purpose of strengthening the power of the kings. The result was that the nobles of Neustria turned eastward for aid against their own major domus. The Austrasians began the war, and were at first entirely defeated. Ebroin carried the war into Austrasia, and was in the full tide of success when he was assassinated. The war dragged on for several years, until in the year 687 it came to a decisive battle at **Testry**, in which Pippin and the Austrasians were entirely victorious. This Pippin was the grandson of the first of the name, and goes by the name of **Pippin of Heristal**. By the battle of Testry he became the dictator of the Frankish kingdom. He dictated terms to the Neustrian king, whom he left in nominal power, while the whole government of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy was actually in his own hands. The victory of Testry was also the

Austrasia conquers Neustria, 687.

687.

victory of the Germanic over the Romanic elements of the Frankish state. It decided once for all that the Germanic nobility was to be the agent in the great work of unification among the tribes.

Charles Martel Major Domus in Austrasia.

We need have no further thought of the kings of the Franks, but can now follow the fortunes of the house of Pippin. At his death Pippin had wished that his office should go to his infant grandson, and not to his illegitimate son **Charles**. It is curious to see how this principle of inheritance of power, having just been shown to be full of dangers to the state in the degenerate Merovingians, was already beginning to make itself felt again in the line of the majors domus. In spite of the wishes of his father, the rejected son Charles called upon the nobles to support him, and was received with enthusiasm as the leader of the Austrasian name. The Neustrian party had elected a rival mayor, but Charles was able with little difficulty to make good his authority there as well, and thus became the real head of affairs throughout the three provinces. Aquitania, the country between Loire and Garonne, remained in the hands of a noble named Eudes, a relative of the Merovingian house, who was glad to make terms with Charles.

Martel unites the kingdom

The time was one which demanded the energy of a great man. Without such a union of all the Frankish forces in one hand it is hard to see how the nation could have fulfilled its mission in history. On all sides it was pressed by enemies. On the north the Frisians, and east of them the Saxons, were constantly threatening the border, while in the far south were heard the distant rumblings of the storm of the Moham-

medan invasion which was soon to break upon the fair land of Aquitaine. Charles' first victories were in the north. In several campaigns he forced the Frisians to acknowledge his sovereignty and drove back the Saxons to the line of the Weser. In order to keep an army constantly on foot he found himself obliged to secure the allegiance of the nobility by every possible means, and no means was so useful to this end as gifts of land. By this time the Frankish clergy had come into possession of immense quantities of the best lands of Gaul, and had done all they could to get rid of paying to the state the duties of service which land was understood to carry with it. This clergy had moreover fallen into a sad state of corruption, the result of ignorance and wealth. In order to make these lands profitable to the state once more, Charles tried to put into the church offices such men as would serve his purpose, and these were anything but the meek servants of God which the purest ideal of the Church would have demanded. They were mainly members of the noble families, who saw in these Church offices only so many means of power, and they were willing to promise service to the major domus in return for the land. Perhaps, also, Charles did not scruple here and there actually to take away the land of the churches and give it to laymen who would be willing to serve him in war. In such cases there is no doubt that the land was only given during the life of the holder, and would then be in the hands of the state to be used over again in the same way. The writers who tell us of these events are all clergymen, and they have given Charles a bad name forever as a persecutor of the

at the expense of the clergy.

Church.[1] They forgot in their narrow view of things that the victories of Charles were opening the way for the spread of Christianity among the heathen of the North, and that these victories would have been impossible without the lands which were being misused by the churchmen from whom he took them.

It is plain that under the vigorous policy of Duke Charles the forces of the Franks were being gathered into such a shape that they could be used for a mighty effort, and the call for that effort was near at hand. Beyond the Pyrenees another great power had been slowly gathering its strength and was now to challenge the Christian rulers of the West to a duel such as the world had hardly seen before. To understand the meaning of this conflict we must go back and follow the course of that power from its beginnings to its greatest height.

Mohammedanism. During the seventh century of our era, while, as we have been seeing, the forces of Germanic civilization were being brought together under the control of the Frankish kingdom, a new religious impulse had been given to the Arab races lying eastward from the Red Sea, and had spread from them over all the countries to the south of the Mediterranean. Just as the new Christian society in Europe was the work of Germanic peoples, so this was to be the work of a great Semitic race. The Arabs were related to the Jews and Phœnicians, in the same way that the Germans were related to the Greeks and

[1] Scholars are not agreed as to the extent of this secularization of church property, nor as to the time at which it took place.

Romans; that is, they were a branch of the Semitic family, as Germans, Greeks, and Romans were branches of the great Aryan family. It will seem strange to you, and it has puzzled many wiser heads, that Christianity, which was started by a Jew and preached first to Jews by Jews, should never have taken any strong hold upon any of the nations of Semitic blood, but should have come to be almost wholly the religion of Aryan peoples. Mohammedanism, on the other hand, starting with a Semitic race, never made any progress among Aryans, but came to be, in a wonderfully short time, the great religious bond among Semitic peoples.

Mohammed was born in Mecca, in Arabia, in the year 571 of our era. At the age of about forty he conceived the idea of replacing the various religious systems which prevailed among his people at the time, by one simple faith. He began to proclaim himself a prophet of God, and to have visions, which were, of course, ridiculed by his friends who could not understand his purpose. He still kept on, however, and gradually succeeded in persuading a few persons that he was indeed a prophet of God. His religious creed was extremely simple. "There is one God, and Mohammed is his prophet" became, and to this day remains, the rallying-cry of the Moslem (faithful). Mohammed was just over fifty years old, when, in the year 622 A.D., he was driven out of Mecca and went to live at Medina. The Mohammedans reckon time from this flight of the Prophet (the "Hegira") as we do from the birth of Christ. At Medina Mohammed gathered strength rapidly and soon

Mohammed.

The Hegira, 622.

succeeded in taking the ancient and sacred city of Mecca. From these two centres the doctrine was carried over all Arabia. If the doctrine were right, then it seemed to be right that it should be forced upon every man. So the sword became the great agent in the spread of the faith of Mohammed. When he died in 632 he had seen the triumph of his doctrine. Compare this with the darkness of seeming failure and contempt which covered the last days of the Author of Christianity.

Success of Mohammedanism.

Whatever one may think of the religion of Mohammed, it was certainly wonderfully adapted to the wants of the races to which it came. Though forced upon them at first by the violence of conquest, they received it without much resistance, and soon came to believe in it with a passionate ardor. It succeeded in welding these desert tribes, which had been scattered in dull and hopeless inactivity, into a mighty people. It inspired the most devoted courage, the most sincere piety, the most severe morality. A literature of vast extent and of wonderful poetic beauty was the product of the energy developed in the great struggle for the spread of the true belief.

The Koran.

At the basis of Mohammed's doctrine (Islam) was the book of teachings which he had compiled during his life, and which were said to have been given him directly by God. In fact, the laws of the Koran were the production of a man with a profound insight into the needs of his people and his time. They served an admirable purpose in restraining their most dangerous vices and in providing standards of right which should lift them up to a somewhat higher plane

than they were then upon. But like any other set of laws which cannot be changed, they gradually lost their power to carry the people higher, and hence comes the moral and intellectual degradation of all Mohammedan peoples in the present day as compared with those peoples who accepted the teaching of Christ.

Danger to Europe.

But at the time we are studying, these evils had not begun to make themselves felt. Within a century after the flight of the prophet the standard of Islam had swept victoriously westward from the Red Sea to the Pyrenees. In the East it had met and driven back the banners of the Eastern Roman Empire, until all that was left to the frightened rulers in Constantinople was Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace. It seemed as if nothing could save Europe from being gathered up between the two arms of this resistless power and simply crushed out of existence. As one looks at the map and sees how comparatively short the distance was from the head-waters of the Euphrates to the head-waters of the Danube and Rhine as compared with the distances already traversed by the armies of Islam, one learns the great truth that distance alone is not the greatest obstacle to conquest. The conquests of the Mohammedans thus far had been over people scattered through a vast extent of country, but generally the victims of a worn-out civilization and an oppressive government. At last they had come to a country in the West where the ancient civilization had been refreshed and strengthened by the new blood of the Germanic peoples, and in the East the power of the Empire was not yet so far gone that it could not defend itself within its narrow boundaries, though it could no

longer widen its limits or even retain those of its early vigor. The Empire was to hold out several centuries yet, until Mohammedanism, re-invigorated in its turn by the new blood of Turkish conquerors from the far North of Asia, should drive it out of existence and challenge Christianity to that duel in the Danube valley which seemed to be impending when the kings of the house of Clovis were still on the throne of the Franks. In the West that duel was to be fought out far earlier.

The Arabs in Spain.

The Mohammedans had entered Spain in the year 711, and in the battle of the Wádi Bekka near Xeres de la Frontera, which is said to have lasted seven days, had completely broken the power of the Visigothic kingdom. They had then swept on to the northward almost without resistance, converting multitudes of the inhabitants to their faith, and in seven years had become masters of the whole country to the Pyrenees. From that time on they were constantly sending warlike expeditions over into Gaul, but these were generally of little account. In 721 they were beaten back, with heavy loss, by Eudes, the "Duke" of Aquitaine, whom we have already seen holding an independent power south of the Loire. If they had been able to unite all their forces and cross the mountains at that time with a really great army, the distracted state of Gaul makes it probable that they would have had entire success.

The attack on Aquitaine.

It was not until 731, when they had been in Spain for twenty years, that the time for such an assault came. We have seen how by that time the great Major Domus had gathered into his own hands all the resources of the Franks and stood ready

to receive the onset. The first blow fell upon Eudes. The army of the Mohammedans, made up of enormous masses of light cavalry, and commanded by Abderrahman, the governor of Spain, in person, moved from Pampeluna in the spring of 732, crossed over into Gascony and besieged Bordeaux. Eudes had hoped to avert the coming storm by making a treaty with one of the Mohammedan generals, and had even taken the unheard-of step of giving him his daughter in marriage. Abderrahman, however, had rejected this treaty and left to Eudes no choice but to fight. A battle took place north of the Dordogne, and Eudes was totally defeated. He gathered his few followers together and hastened to throw himself upon the mercy of Charles.

Martel summons his army.

The major domus had got word of the desperate straits in which Eudes was placed, and had sent out his call throughout the Frankish lands for every man who could bear arms to hasten to his banner. The answer to this call was such as no Merovingian king could have commanded. A sense of the impending danger seems to have caused men to put aside for the moment their separate interests and to feel themselves, as they had not done for many a generation, citizens of one great state. Even from the tributary Frisians and from the peoples beyond the Rhine came troops to join in what was felt to be a struggle for all that they held sacred.

Battle of Tours, 732.

It was a great Christian army which, under the sole leadership of the Frankish duke, met the countless host of Islam in a plain near the city of **Tours**, just south of the Loire. For seven days, we are told, the two armies faced each

other, neither daring to begin the attack. It was on a Saturday, in the month of October, that they finally formed their order of battle. The main strength of the Arabs was in their cavalry; the Germans as yet were a nation of foot-soldiers. The result was that which all history shows whenever foot-soldiers with a solid backing of personal bravery have faced an army of cavalry in open fight. The Germans drew up in close order, without a gap in their serried ranks. All day long the wild charges of the Arab horse beat against this wall of men, just as in our own day the furious Moslems of the Soudan hurled themselves against the immovable squares of the British infantry.

Thousands upon thousands of dead covered the field; but when night separated the combatants, the Germans withdrew to their tents, still brandishing their swords in contempt of their baffled enemy. With the earliest dawn they were on their feet again, ready for the attack which the perfect order in the camp of the Arabs led them to expect. As no enemy appeared, they sent out their spies, supposing that he might be intrenched behind the camp. The spies reported no sign of life. Still they held together, lest they should be led into an ambuscade, and only when they were assured that the enemy had indeed escaped, did they cautiously venture into the deserted camp. Here they found immense plunder, the spoil of the captured cities of the south. The great battle was fought and the victory won; the bond which held the army together was broken. After a fair division of the spoil the various troops of which it was composed went back each into its own country. The Arabs, beaten almost

Victory of the Franks.

for the first time in a really great conflict, retreated to the east and south, followed only by Charles, whom we may now call by his name of "**Martel**" (the Hammer), and a few of his own vassals. They succeeded in maintaining themselves for many years in the country lying just north of the Pyrenees, but never again tried the terrible experiment of a Gallic conquest.

Importance of the battle.

The importance of the battle of Tours can hardly be overestimated. It was not, like that of Châlons, a combat between the forces of order on one side and those of confusion and destruction on the other; it was a struggle for life and death between two races, two religions, and two young and vigorous civilizations. We cannot conceive of the rude hordes of Attila founding a state and starting a new course of development for Europe; we may well imagine that the Arabs, if they had conquered at Tours, might have done for Gaul what they did for Spain, have made it into the seat of a great Semitic culture. That they did not do this, that Europe became Christian and not Mohammedan, Aryan and not Semitic, is the debt we owe to those iron warriors who beat back the wave of Arab conquest on the field of Tours.

Martel governs without a king.

Five years after the battle of Tours Theodoric, the sole reigning Merovingian, died; and though Charles, remembering, perhaps, the fate of Grimoald, did not try to take the kingdom for himself, he did not see the need of putting another nobody on the throne, and simply went on with the government without any king whatever. His public documents were dated so many years after the death of Theodoric. We can notice but one other part of the

work of this most extraordinary man, — his relations with the Church at Rome. The Roman papacy was, as we have seen, in a condition of the greatest danger. Since the recovery of Italy by Justinian, it had been under the government and the nominal protection of the Eastern Empire, but this had meant hardly more than taxes and a dictation of which the papacy had now come to be very impatient. When a real danger, such as the close neighborhood of the hated Lombards, threatened it, the Eastern rulers gave it no help whatever, and rather weakened it than otherwise by their constant interference. Then upon the whole bitter question of image-worship in the churches the papacy had taken a stand directly opposed to that of the imperial government. So that more and more it became clear that it must look elsewhere for the political support which was necessary to its very existence. It had been the subject of the Empire; it was now willing to make itself the subject of some other power which should promise it the security it could no longer hope for in its present connection.

The papacy turns to the Franks.

At the time of Charles Martel the pressure from the Lombards was becoming a matter of life and death to the papacy. There seemed to be no good reason why a vigorous attack upon Rome should not be wholly successful. On the other hand, the friendly relations of the Franks with Rome had never been interrupted since the conversion of Clovis brought them into the Catholic fold. And now, especially under the majors domus, the work of spreading the Gospel according to Rome, in the still heathen countries of the North, had gone on with unheard-of

Boniface the Apostle to the Germans.

vigor and success. The famous Englishman **Boniface**, the Apostle to the Germans, had come over from England and entered upon the work of a missionary among the Frisians along the shores of the North Sea. From there he had gone over into the valleys of the Main and Danube, and had had remarkable success in founding churches and monasteries, which were to be so many centres of light in these still barbarous regions. For a time he had carried on this work on his own account, but soon he saw that if he could make himself the agent of Rome, he would strengthen his cause very greatly. The papacy was the more ready to adopt him as its own, because there were already missionaries at work in these same parts, who had taught a form of Christianity different in many ways from that of Rome. These missionaries had come from that Keltic church which we saw established in the West of England, and in parts of Scotland and Ireland, at the time when Augustine had carried the Roman form to the Anglo-Saxons, and the conflict between them and Boniface was the same which went on there between Augustine and the ancient British church. The question in both cases was the same; should Rome become the one centre of church life in the West, or should the life of the church, like that of the state, gather about several centres? Should there be national churches, or but one all-embracing Church Catholic of which Rome should be the single and supreme head? In great parts of Germany, as in Great Britain, it had seemed as if a local, national church might grow up quite independent of Rome; but after the work of Boniface it was clear that the hold of Rome upon Ger-

Boniface the agent of Rome.

many was fixed forever. Another question involved here was that of compact organization about great episcopal centres in place of a loose system, which allowed every landed proprietor to maintain his own clergymen, and thus prevented any combined action. The opposition to Boniface may be largely accounted for by the attachment of the local nobility to this looser method, but the victory of the principle of close organization was complete. For example, in Bavaria, where the population was already nominally Christian, there had been nothing like a fixed organization of the Church, but through the activity of Boniface the great bishoprics of Salzburg, Freising, Regensburg, and Passau were established and filled by men of undoubted fidelity to the Roman forms.

Martel declines to fight the Lombards.

All this work of Boniface, in spite of a steady opposition from a strong party among the Frankish clergy, was steadily supported by the major domus himself. In the midst of it his fidelity to Rome was put to a severe test. The pressure of the Lombards upon the papal lands had become harder than ever, and, what was worse, the quarrel with the Empire about image-worship had come to such a point that the Emperor had sent a fleet and army to take possession of Rome. Only a violent storm saved the papacy from almost certain ruin by the very power which was bound to protect it. The Lombard king, **Liutprand**, had called upon the pope to deliver up certain rebels who had fled to him for protection, and when this was refused, had regularly besieged the city. In this emergency the pope saw but one hope of escape, and that was in the fidelity of the

Frankish people. While the siege was still going on, he sent an embassy by sea to Charles Martel, who was then in the South of France, fighting the Arabs. Rich presents, among them the chains of the Apostle Peter and the golden keys of his tomb, the sign of sovereignty in the sacred city, were to serve as the most powerful arguments. Charles was in a very tight place indeed. His relations with the Lombards had been most friendly. When his son Pippin had come to the age of manhood, he had selected this very Liutprand as the man who should cut the waving locks of the young prince, and thus declare him fit for the profession of arms. At this very moment he was in close alliance with Liutprand, by whose help he had been able to turn back a new Arab invasion. At the same time he did not wish to offend the pope, and so all he could do was to try to ease the bitterness between the two parties. This, however, was not what Gregory wanted. In letters which he now wrote, he beseeches the "sub-king" (*subregulus*), as he calls him, not to turn a deaf ear to the cry of St. Peter, and almost promises him by the mouth of another ambassador, that if he will come to Rome and deliver her from her distress, he shall be invested with that imperial sovereignty which the Eastern Empire had forfeited by its neglect.

Anxiety of the pope.

Charles treated the ambassadors of the pope with all possible respect, and sent them home with suitable gifts, promising that he would discuss their proposition with his nobles, and send the pope an early answer. What that answer was we do not know; the one thing certain is, that Charles did not go to the relief of Rome. And if we consider his own difficulties, the constant

danger from the Arabs in the south, against whom he needed the help of the Lombards, his uncertain hold over great numbers of his subjects, and the complications with the Eastern Empire which were sure to follow, we can understand perfectly well why he felt it safer to keep within his own borders and devote all his energy to strengthening his place at the head of the Frankish people. It was reserved for his grandson to carry out completely the plan of a great Roman-Frankish alliance, which we have here outlined. Charles Martel died in the year 741. We are to remember him as the man who first made of the Frankish kingdom a firmly united whole, who stood between the still vigorous German heathenism of the North, and the wild fanaticism of Mohammedanism on the South, and saved Europe to Christianity. The greater work of Charlemagne would have been impossible without the preparation made for him by the courage, the prudence, and the political insight of Martel.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE MONKS OF THE WEST.

AUTHORITIES: — The innumerable histories of monasteries and orders and the lives of prominent monastic leaders.

MODERN WORKS: — Philip Schaff: Rise and Progress of Monasticism. Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1864. — Montalembert, Count de: The Monks of the West from St. Benedict to St. Bernard. Transl. 7 vols. Edinb. 1861–79. Phil., written by a warm partisan of the monastic system, but containing much valuable material.

Monasticism not essentially Christian.

WE have often spoken of monks and monasteries, but have not as yet considered them as a part of the life of the singular period we are now studying. It will be important for us to look at them now a little more closely. The monastic life begins almost as soon as Christianity. Indeed, ages before Christianity, in the religions of the East, in Brahminism, Buddhism, even in Judaism, we can trace a tendency of men toward a form of religious life which is in all respects like the monasticism of the early Christian times. It has even been supposed that Jesus himself was a member of the Jewish sect of the Essenes, who lived apart from the active life of their day and sought a special consecration in solitude and in bodily deprivations.

And hardly was Christianity started in the world, when we find this same tendency again at work, driv-

ing men out of the wild life of cities into the desert, in the hope that they might thus gain a nearer communion with the eternal life of God. This was especially the case in Egypt, where the warm climate made the hermit's existence tolerably easy and where the vast solitudes of the desert protected him from the violence of his fellow-man. But man is after all a social creature; he cannot get on for any great length of time without the society of his kind. And so we see quite early these scattered hermits of the desert gathering together into little groups, each living still in his own cell, but feeling himself a part of a society, with a distinct character and mission. As time went on, this tendency to unite grew stronger and stronger. The monks who had been living in their separate huts came together under one roof and organized under the government of one elder brother, to whom they vowed obedience. Then, finally, the scattered groups were brought together still more closely by the foundation of "orders," with a common rule and a strong sense of union. In the Eastern Church there was never but one of these orders, that of **St. Basil**, which to this day is the basis of the whole Oriental monastic system.

Stages of monasticism.

In the Western Church the conditions were not so favorable. The climate did not tempt men to solitary life, and the example of older religions was wanting. So that it was rather late, not much before the fifth century, and then only here and there, that we see the first faint efforts of Western monasticism. In the South of Gaul, in the pleasant valleys of Provence, a few monasteries were built under

Western monasticism.

the leadership of a certain Cassianus, and probably at about the same time a similar work was started in the far-off regions of Ireland and Scotland. We know but little of these early movements. Hardly anything more than dim and untrustworthy legends have come down to us, full of miraculous stories of these holy men. The really great impulse to the monastic spirit of the West was given by the famous **St. Benedict** in the sixth century. Benedict was a native of Umbria, in Italy, and a man of great gifts as an organizer. With a few followers he founded the monastery of Monte Casino, which remained for centuries the chief centre of the Benedictine order. Then he established several other monasteries in the neighborhood and gave to them all the rule, which under the name of the **Benedictine Rule**, was the model for all future attempts of the sort. This rule had three chief clauses. The monk vowed perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience. By the vow of poverty he denied himself all property of his own. Whatever he had the use of was the property of the order, not of himself; the very pen with which he copied his pious books was not his own. The vow of chastity bound him never to marry, and thus cut him off forever from all the ties of home and kindred. It was the belief of the time that all these worldly ties tended to draw the thoughts of men away from higher things. Instead of trying to put their holiness of thought into the life of the world they saw no way but to withdraw from the world. If they thought of the rest of mankind at all, it was only in the hope that their example might serve to bring about a higher standard of living. The vow

Order of St. Benedict, 529.

of obedience to the abbot, the head of the monastery, was intended still further to impress on the monk his entire sacrifice of self. He had no longer any will of his own, but was to be subject in all things to a higher will.

Practical nature of Benedictines.

The rule of Benedict required further that the life should be spent in work. "To work is to pray," was one of the favorite mottoes of the order. Every day so much prayer and so much work with the hands. "A laboring monk is troubled by one devil; an idle monk, by a host of devils," said Cassianus. The members are not to abuse their bodies for the sake of their souls. They are to wear suitable and sufficient clothing; they are to eat a plenty of nourishing food; they are not to fast more than they can bear. The sick are to be carefully tended and fed. It was this practical character of the Benedictine rule which made the Western system so different from the extravagant and fanatical monasticism of the East. The spread of the order was very rapid. Within a century from the time of Benedict it had taken firm root throughout the whole of Christian Europe. Almost from the first it had commended itself to women as well as to men, and many nunneries, under the protection of powerful families, had sprung up throughout Italy and Gaul. Both monasteries and nunneries became the retreat for many a troubled soul to whom the trials of this world seemed more than it could bear, and who thought to escape from them within the cloister walls.

From the very first these monastic organizations showed their value for the Church. For one thing, the very denial of self gave to the monk a sort of sacred

character in the eyes of the world, and made many an unruly layman look up to him, who would have had little respect for the familiar parish priest. Men have always admired self-sacrifice in others, and it was not long before the established clergy, priests, and lower church officers, found their influence with the people seriously weakened by the presence of these saintly ascetics. Complaints began to be made, but the holy men kept their ground and gained more. Not only were they strong in their sacred character as ascetics, but they knew how to touch the life of the people at many points where the parish clergy failed to reach it. To understand their greatest work, we must remember that they were living among peoples who were passing through some of the earliest stages of a civilized life. The Germanic races had never lived in cities, and even when they came in upon the Roman soil, where a distinctly city life had been led, they did not at once, nor for many centuries, change their habits. The whole period of this book is essentially a period of agricultural development. The element of city life plays but a small part in it.

The "regular" and "secular" clergy.

Now perhaps the most important work in this great development of the states of northern and western Europe on the basis of a revived agriculture, was to be done by the monks of St. Benedict. Just as, in opening up the wooded portions of our western country to civilization, the pioneer settler with his family chose a spot for his house near a spring of water, and with his good axe cleared away the virgin forest until he had laid open land enough for his use,

The monks as pioneers.

and then was never satisfied, but kept on clearing more and more, until finally the forests disappeared, and in their places stood miles upon miles of waving crops, so was it with these pioneers of a new civilization in the forest districts of Gaul and Germany, England and Ireland. They got their land chiefly as a pious offering by some king or prince, of that which was of little value to him, which perhaps he did not even own at all by any title that would seem worth much to us. But once in the hands of the monastic organization, the land seldom slipped away again. The individual landowner died, and perhaps there was no one to succeed him, or a neighbor took advantage of his death to pounce upon his land; but the corporation never died. It was always getting, and never losing. Even in the midst of almost continual violence, the lands of the Church were generally respected; the favor of the good fathers, whose prayers the lawless baron might need at any moment for the safety of his soul, was worth a little self-restraint. The wildest robber of all the chiefs might be, like the kings of the Lombards, a most pious gentleman.

The monasteries seats of learning.

Then again, these monasteries, protected by the favor of the great, and looked up to by the common man as retreats from the violence of the world, began to be centres of light in a world which seemed to be falling into barbarism. While the races were struggling for the land, and while the Germanic peoples, having got the land, were slowly forming a new system of governments in which force was the only means of control, there was no need of learning. The Roman had lost his taste for

udy, and the German had not yet got so far as to ave tastes. The only use for learning was in the ser- ce of the Church. As long as the Roman govern- ent had lasted, the care of administering its vast achinery had called for a certain kind of learning, pecially for learning in the law. But when the gov- nment of all the Roman lands had passed into the nds of peoples who had no great system of written w, but who governed by a set of traditions carried in e memory, then the need for even this kind of learn- g passed away. There was no longer any scholarship it such as the Church needed for its worship. The nations had no written languages, and therefore d to express themselves, they had uage of the conquered result of this was, that selves as little as possible. What ginal impulse to literary expression, which at certain times leads men to ite or to sing e deeds of their ancestors, or of the r of the charms of social life, or of stinct was wanting among the Ger- e time of the migration and settle- ent. And during the same time the impulse to origi- l expression among the Romans, which in earlier nes had produced such works as the speeches of cero, the histories of Cæsar and Tacitus and Ammi- us, the lofty verse of Virgil, the grace of Horace, d the satire of Juvenal, had almost entirely died t. Thus for several centuries the nations of Europe er us almost a blank in literary production, and hence ople have been in the habit of calling these times the

Absence of literature.

"Dark Ages," and turning away from them with contempt, as not worth their while to study. The fact is that men, during these ages, had other things to do than to write. They were, all unconsciously, building up a new foundation on which a future culture might rest. The old culture had died out because the moral soundness of the Roman people had crumbled away beneath it, and a new culture could not arise until a new and sound race should come in to take the place of the ancient and corrupt generation.

The monastery schools.

This was the mission of the Germanic race, and the persons who were to be its chief agents in the work of carrying over to a new time what the old had left, were the monks of St. Benedict in the silent cloisters, scattered all over the West and South of Europe, wherever Christian government had been established. From a very early date we find the rulers of the West encouraging the monasteries to open schools for boys in connection with their houses. The same might be said also of the bishoprics, but the greater quiet and security of the monasteries seem to have made them especially sought out by those who wished their children to be trained for the Church, for this was the only aim of the earliest education of the Middle Ages. This education would seem to us now of very little value. The boys learned first and last Latin, the language of the Church, and of the only literature they had. They learned it, not only to read but to write and speak after a fashion, and then all the rest of their learning was done in Latin. One thing they knew better than it is often understood in our day, and that is, that to really know a language it must

...d to learn other things with. Their first course was ...led the "Trivium," and included grammar, rhetoric, ...l logic. This was followed by the "Quadrivium," ...ich included arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and ...sic. The first group, you will see, were the sciences ... language; the second, those of nature. This sounds ...e a very good programme of studies, but it must be ...nembered that the teachers themselves knew very ...le, especially about the science of nature. What ...y knew and taught came almost wholly out of ...oks, and it was to be many centuries before men ...ould care enough about the study of nature to take ...ld of it in what now seems the only proper way, by ...oing directly to natural objects themselves, and seeing ...at these have to tell us. The chief result of this ...ucation was to train the mind in habits of close think-...g; a valuable result in a day when the object of learn-...g was not so much to discover new truth, as to prove ...e truth of what men had, and to persuade others to ...cept it. After the "Trivium" and the "Quadri-...um" the boy went into his professional study.

For the purposes of teaching, the monks needed mod- of written Latin, and these were best to found in the works of the classical, hea- ...en authors. There was, of course, a large ...ristian literature, also written in Latin; but there ...ver was a time when men wholly failed to understand ...at these Fathers of the Church, learned and ven- ...able as they might be, did not, after all, handle the ...tin tongue with the skill of Cicero or Sallust. To ...ep up the supply of these classic authors, new copies ...d to be made, and the originals had to be studied, to

The monasteries saved ancient learning.

keep the copies as correct as possible. So in every well-appointed monastery the library and the writing-room were among the most important of its many departments; and there, in those obscure corners of the world, the best that we have to-day of the writings of antiquity has come down to us. In the terrible storms of mediæval war the monasteries often suffered like other homes of wealth and culture, but these musty parchments had no value for the robber knight, or for the barbarian Norman or Hungarian, and so they were left undisturbed when everything else of value was carried away or destroyed.

Value of monasteries.

These are some of the blessings which Europe owes to the monks of St. Benedict. They opened up vast tracts of land to civilized culture; they helped by their lives of self-denial to keep in the minds of men a standard of morals somewhat higher than their own; they furnished a safe retreat where the spark of learning, beaten out by the violence of the time, might find a quiet corner in which to smoulder at first, and then to flicker up slowly and feebly, yet steadily, into a brilliant flame. We must now look at some of the dangers of this same institution.

Dangers of monasteries.

Men went into the monastery at first to find peace and holiness of life, but we may well doubt if they often succeeded. A man is generally the worst kind of company for himself, and so from the beginning it proved with the monks. Almost as soon as we find records of the self-devotion and wonderful piety of the holy men, we begin also to hear complaints of the evils and dangers of the life they had chosen. The early monks, driven out of the world by a fanati-

cal notion of duty, seem to us often quite as much like madmen as saints. The rule of Benedict was intended to meet this evil of fanaticism by making the monk at the same time a useful member of society. But here again he was met by new dangers, and the history of the order is one long series of backslidings and recoveries. The story was generally something like this: Though the individual monk could hold no property, he had what was just as good for all purposes, a share in the use of the monastery property. The lands given to the order, often of little value at first, came to be through its efforts of very great value. Farmers liked to live on these lands of the Church, because the burdens were generally not so heavy as on the lay lands, and thus, in course of time, the monasteries found themselves owners of vast tracts of fertile country and of boundless forests, rich in game and timber, and lords also of a great population of prosperous farmers, whose industry came almost entirely to the profit of the house.

Increase in wealth.

Further, the monasteries began from a very early day to claim what was called "immunity"; that is, freedom from the control of any power, either that of the bishop or of the government, in the care of their own affairs. This meant that the abbot of the house was just as much an independent sovereign in his little world as the baron in his; and the dread of provoking the anger of heaven was generally enough to prevent the neighbors from questioning these rights. The abbot of a large monastery had often several hundred fighting men at his command; he was a judge in cases arising between his own people, and the revenues

"Immunity."

from the farms were spent under his direction. That is what the vow of poverty came to; not a penny of personal wealth, but the daily enjoyment of a truly splendid worldly possession. Then the next steps were taken; with wealth came a desire for the things that wealth could buy. Magnificent buildings, provided with every comfort of life, took the place of the cold cell which the ancient hermit had been proud to call his only shelter. If one should travel in England to-day, he would see the ruins of these buildings, splendid even yet, and he would understand how a time must have come when men would no longer bear this misuse of wealth, that had been given for the service of God, and so in a sort of wild fury tore down these homes of idleness and vice, and put the wealth where it might be of use.

Mainz and Fulda.

Of course all this growth in wealth and power was anything but agreeable to the authorities, both of Church and State, under which the monastic houses were supposed to stand. The bishop in whose diocese the monastery lay, felt his authority over the people to be in danger, to say nothing of the valuable revenue which went to the monastery instead of coming to him. Bishops protested, but the abbots showed their deeds of gift and their grants of immunity, and the bishop had to be content. The story of Fulda is that of many another foundation. Fulda had been founded by the great apostle Boniface, in the midst of unbroken forest, on the little river of the same name in the later Hessen. Boniface had placed at the head of Fulda his friend and follower Sturm, and when he himself became archbishop of Mainz, he had kept a

certain control over the affairs of the monastery. But when Boniface was dead, his first successor, Lullus, came at once into difficulties with the old abbot. He maintained that the monastery was in his diocese and that by a recent law of the kingdom every monastery must be under the direction of some bishop. Sturm on the other hand brought out a deed by which Pope Zachary had declared Fulda to be independent of every jurisdiction except that of the papacy. No doubt such a grant had been obtained, and that through the agency of Boniface, who at the time was not yet archbishop of Mainz, and could not perhaps have foreseen that his action would thus bring two of the most important church foundations of Germany under the leadership of two of his own best-beloved pupils, into a bitter conflict. It so happened that Sturm was accused, rightly or wrongly, of having aided in a rebellion of the Duke Tassilo of Bavaria against Pippin, and Lullus made use of this charge to ruin the abbot in the mind of the king. Sturm was driven out of Fulda by the order of Pippin, the document of the pope was declared of no account, and the monastery was placed under the sovereignty of Mainz. But Lullus did not long enjoy his victory; the pressure was too strong. After a couple of years Sturm was forgiven and restored, and the independence of Fulda again declared. And the same thing happened in many other places. Over and over again we find kings and princes trying to bring their monasteries under the control of the bishops of their countries, but never with much success.

If now you consider what it meant for the government of a country to have scattered all through its terri-

tory great masses of land which might just as well not have belonged to it for all the good they were to it, and consider further that in all these pieces of country the far-off Roman papacy claimed all the rights which the government ought to have had, you will see why the monasteries came to be regarded as the most dangerous enemies of all civil government.

Dangers to the State.

We see here another proof of the far-seeing wisdom of the Roman papacy, which began very early to understand that in these innumerable monasteries, with their thousands of devoted inhabitants, it had the most trustworthy agents for all its plans. Whether it found itself for the time being in conflict with the State or with the Church in a given country, it was pretty certain to find in the monks of that country a great army of unquestioning soldiers ready to do its bidding.

Value to the papacy.

The vow of poverty was thus easily evaded. The duty of labor became less pressing when all the lands of the monastery had been cleared, and were occupied by subject peasants who did the hard work of the fields and forests. Idleness, with all its train of ills, came into the monasteries and brought with it especially a danger to the second of the Benedictine vows. The instinct of nature, by which men have always been led into the highest and holiest of human relations as husbands and fathers of families, would not be kept down, and many accounts show us that the seats of learning and self-denial had become homes of ignorance and vice. Then would come a time of revival. We have seen how large a part of the legislation of the early Franks had to do with questions

Immorality in monasteries.

of marriage, both among the clergy and the laymen, and at the same time efforts were made to bring about stricter views of the monastic life. We shall meet the same thing again in the times of Charlemagne, and can study it there perhaps to better advantage.

The third vow, of obedience to the abbot, gave less trouble. So far as we can see, the abbot was not likely to be much better than his flock, and if things went badly, it was not because of any loss of his authority over them. Often, however, the process of reform was that a new abbot would be placed over the house; and if he could make the vow of obedience a real thing, the work was likely to be more successful. In the case of Sturm of Fulda, a new abbot was put in his place; but the monks, far from being willing to obey, were so enraged at the loss of their favorite, that they straightway turned the new man out and waited until Sturm was restored to them.

Obedience generally good.

Our final judgment of the Christian monasticism of the West would be this: that in an age when men hoped for holiness of life only through the sacrifice of all their natural instincts, the order of St. Benedict stood between the brutality of the masses of men on the one hand, and the fanaticism of the Eastern monks on the other. Such insane devotion as that of St. Simeon Stylites, who stood for years on the top of a pillar barely large enough for him to turn round on, was almost unknown to the West, and was frowned down wherever it appeared. We must try to learn to judge men and institutions by the use they had in the day in which they belonged, not by the use they might have for us in these better times.

Final judgment.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FRANKS FROM CHARLES MARTEL TO CHARLEMAGNE.

AUTHORITIES: — With the rise of the Carolingian house the writing of history begins to be more frequent and more skilful. Even the three unknown persons who successively continued the chronicle of Fredegarius down to the year 752, are wholly in the Carolingian interest, and mention the ruling Merovingians only in a formal way.

The annals now begin to be more numerous and more complete. The two most important are known to scholars as the *Annales Laurissenses*, or Annals of Lorsch and the Annals of Einhard. The former are named from the monastery where the oldest manuscript was found; the latter have been given the name of Charlemagne's secretary, because of a certain ancient hint that Einhard had written annals and because of the excellent literary style of this work. Both these histories are now believed to be what we call in these days "inspired," that is, written by some one who stood very near the government and took his cue from it. Perhaps even the name "royal annals" is not too strong an expression of the official character of these writings. Other sources are the lives of prominent men, few and meagre, yet so much better than what had been written before, that we mark in them a distinct literary progress. The most famous of these lives is that of Charlemagne, by his secretary, Einhard. It is written in fairly good Latin, and modelled on the lives of the Roman emperors by Suetonius.

From Einhard's Life of Charlemagne: —

c. xix. "He took care that his children, both boys and girls, should be educated first of all in liberal studies, to which he also gave attention himself. Then, when his sons were of the proper age, he had them learn to ride in the manner of

the Franks, to practise at arms and the chase, while the daughters learned to spin wool, to use the distaff and spindle, and every virtuous occupation, that they might not become spoiled by idleness.

"While dining he listened to music or reading. Histories and the deeds of the ancients were read to him. He delighted in the works of St. Augustine, especially in his book 'The City of God.' . . . While dressing or putting on his sandals, he not only admitted his friends; but if the Count Palatine reported any suit which could not be settled without his decision, he would order the parties to be brought in, and, as if seated on the bench of justice, would hear the case and give judgment. c. xxiv.

"He was a zealous promoter of liberal studies, and greatly revered their professors, upon whom he bestowed the highest honors. He learned the art of computation, and with great application and skill carefully calculated the motions of the planets. He tried also to learn to write, and used even to put his tablets and writing-books under his pillow, so that when he should have leisure he might accustom his hand to forming the letters; but in this task, too long postponed and begun too late in life, he had but little success." c. xxv.

But besides what was written as history we have a far better source of information in the laws of Charlemagne, the famous "Capitularies." These were mainly laws designed to meet cases which the old tribal laws of the Franks would not cover. We have a great number of them, touching upon every phase of public life.

MODERN WORKS: — H. E. Bonnell: Die Anfänge des Karolingischen Hauses. Berlin, 1866. — Heinrich Hahn: Jahrbücher des Frankischen Reiches. 741–72. — L. Oelsner: Jahrbücher des Frankischen Reiches unter König Pippin. 1871.

AT the death of Charles Martel the kingdom of the Franks stood well defended against enemies from without, and fairly strong in the allegiance of all its various parts. The heathen Saxons Strength of the Franks.

and Frisians were held firmly in check. The Bavarians owned a duty of allegiance, though still retaining their own government under hereditary and independent dukes. Much the same state of things existed in Aquitaine, which, although nominally conquered as far back as the time of Clovis, had never become an integral part of the kingdom. The Arabs, by no means conquered forever at Tours, had returned again and again, but had always been held within the region of the lower Pyrenees, and might now be regarded as no longer dangerous to the kingdom as a whole.

Division of 741.

How firm the hold of the "Hammer" was upon his fellow-nobles is best shown by the fact that before his death he was able to secure the peaceful succession of his two elder sons, Karlmann and Pippin, to his office of major domus. The principle of inheritance of all possessions, of office as well as property, was beginning to make itself felt. The only opposition to this succession came from another still younger son, Gripho, the child of a second wife, and whoever was hostile to the two elder brothers found in the revolt of Gripho a chance to make his opposition felt. This slight obstacle was easily put aside, and the government passed into the hands of the brothers. Karlmann took the cares of office in Austrasia, Thuringia, and Swabia; and Pippin, in Neustria and Burgundy. The first step was one which shows the talent for moderation, which was the most striking trait of their house. They hunted up a member of the Merovingian family and had him acknowledged in all form by the nobility of the realm as the lawful king. Probably they hoped in this way to quiet any

The last Merovingian.

anxiety lest they might themselves be ambitious for royal honors. There is a certain pathos in the description of the life led by this "royal scarecrow," given by Einhard: —

"Nothing was left to the king but to sit on the throne, with his long hair and beard, listening to the ambassadors, who came from all directions, and giving them the answers that had been taught him, as if of his own sovereign will. In fact, however, he had nothing but the royal name and a beggarly income at the will of the major domus, together with a moderate estate on which he lived, and from which he drew the few servants who supplied his wants. When he travelled he was carried upon an ox-cart with a peasant driver. In this fashion he came to the palace, and to the yearly assembly of the people, and returned in the same style to his house."

Of the deeds or words of this poor Childerich we have not a word in the records of the time. The histories mention his elevation, and, later on, his deposition, and that is all.

Meanwhile the Carolingian brothers went on exactly as their father had done, only that now the documents are signed in the king's name. The great assemblies. We must notice especially how in all public affairs the government of the State and of the Church go on together. In fact, the Church is distinctly regarded as a public institution and its officers as the subjects of the State. It is of great importance to keep this in mind for the future. Our best way to understand the progress of events will be to look at the doings of the great assemblies of the nobility and clergy which we find called

diets or councils according as reference is made to the political or the religious matters treated there. These meetings were called by the king; they were attended by laymen and clergymen together, and their decrees were given force by being sent out in the king's name.

Church discipline.

The first of these meetings was held in Karlmann's country, and was attended mainly by the nobles and bishops of Germany. At their head appears Boniface, and we need have little doubt that the whole tone of the meeting was given by him. Above all things we find the clergy called upon to reform itself. All records of the Merovingian period agree in showing the Frankish clergy in a most corrupt and degraded condition. What the evils of their life were we learn from this assembly. They are forbidden to carry weapons, to fight, even to go to war with their fighting men, excepting such of them as were necessary for the service of religion. Hunting, hawking, keeping of hounds, are declared unbecoming to the clergyman. Priests and deacons shall put off the dress of the layman and don the gown of the monk. Violation of these rules shall be severely punished, by flogging and long imprisonment. In order to enforce this discipline, the various steps of authority in the Church are carefully defined. At the head stands, not the pope, be it remembered, but the government. The "Prince," as Karlmann is now regularly called, appoints the bishops and makes Boniface archbishop over them. They are responsible to him. So in turn are the priests and deacons responsible to the bishops. We see in all these measures the effort on the part of the new rulers to found the Frankish state anew on the basis of a strict moral disci-

pline in the Church as a model to the laymen of the nation.

Still more curious are the measures to suppress the practice of heathen rites in this Christian state. A great part of the inhabitants of Austrasia were but fresh Christians at the best, and many a practice hallowed to them by long association was continued under some new form, after they had formally given up their ancient belief. We find mentioned at this assembly a list of some thirty such evil practices, human sacrifices, fortune-telling, amulets, oracles from the flight of birds, and other rites, all called together, "works of the devil." A formula of renunciation of all such practices was prepared for the use of the clergy, in the common language, and has come down to us, almost the first bit of writing in the language which afterward came to be called the German.[1] It was proposed to hold similar meetings every year, but the plan was probably not carried out. How hard it was to do away with any of the evils here attacked is

Suppression of heathen rites.

[1] *Q.* Forsachistu diobolae?

A. ec forsacho diobolae.

Q. end allum diobol gelde?

A. end ec forsacho allum diobol geldae.

Q. end allum dioboles uuercum?

A. end ec forsacho allum dioboles uuercum and uuordum. thunaer ende uuoden ende saxnote ende allem them unholdum the hira genotas sint.

Thus far goes the renunciation. Then follows the positive confession: —

Q. Forsakest thou the devil?

A. I forsake the devil.

Q. And all the devil's service?

A. And I forsake all the devil's service.

Q. And all the devil's works?

A. And I forsake all the devil's works and words. Thor and Odin and Saxnot and all the evil spirits that are their companions.

shown by the constant repetition of the same efforts whenever the leading men of the State came together for deliberation. It is clear that there were always some who were trying to lift the morals, and with them the whole life of the people, up to a higher ideal, while the old warlike, independent instinct of a savage race was constantly resisting such effort.

Restoration of Church property.

Two years later we have the report of a similar meeting in Neustria, at which Pippin appears as distinctly at the head of affairs as did Karlmann in Austrasia. The acts of this assembly seemed to be modelled directly upon those of the earlier one, so that we need notice only one point. The Church had never forgiven Charles Martel for his use of its property in the public service; and now that the government was in the hands of men well-known for

Q. Gelobistu in got alamehtigan fadaer?

A. ec gelobo in got alamehtigan fadaer.

Q. Gelobistu in crist godes suno?

A. ec gelobo in crist godes suno.

Q. Gelobistu in halogan gast?

A. ec gelobo in halogan gast.

Q. Believest thou in God the almighty Father?

A. I believe in God the almighty Father.

Q. Believest thou in Christ the Son of God?

A. I believe in Christ the Son of God.

Q. Believest thou in the Holy Ghost?

A. I believe in the Holy Ghost.

The interest of this document is in the suggestion it contains that accepting Christianity was to the German very much like the changing of allegiance from one political sovereign to another. He gave up Thor and Woden (Odin) and Saxnot, and in their place took the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. It gives us also a curious suggestion as to the idea, common to Christians as well as heathen, that the gods of the latter were realities, only that to the Christian they were evil realities to be avoided and dreaded as evil spirits (*unholde*).

their devotion to religion, it saw its chance to recover. At this Neustrian assembly, it is ordered that the goods taken from the Church shall be used partly to support the "servants and the maids of God"; that is, the priests, monks, and nuns. The estates themselves seem to have been too firmly in the hands of their new owners for any thought of restoration, but they might still be made to pay for the service of religion.

In the following year a still more imposing assembly was held at Lestines, in Austrasia, at which Boniface presided in person, and which was attended by clergymen and nobles from both parts of the kingdom. The former decrees were enforced, Boniface was placed more distinctly than ever at the head of the Frankish clergy, and the alliance of Church and State was completed. Indeed, we are tempted to think that the Church was a too dangerous rival of the State, when we see, two years later, Karlmann, the elder brother, voluntarily laying down his office and entering a monastery. There seems to have been no reason whatever for this step except an honest desire to lead the higher life. It was of great importance, by bringing this Carolingian prince into close relations with the papacy. Karlmann went at once to Italy and founded a monastery in the neighborhood of Rome; but finding himself too much disturbed there by visitors from home, he finally betook himself to the famous monastery of Monte Cassino, whence we shall see him later emerging to take part in the dealings between Rome and the Franks. His children, with their rights of succession, seem to have been committed to the care of Pippin; but they are scarcely heard of

Assembly at Lestines, 744.

Abdication of Karlmann.

again, and Pippin appears from this time as the sole manager of the Frankish government. Karlmann was not the only prince of his time who changed the splendors of a throne for the quiet of the cloister; but generally there was some evident reason for disgust with the world; in his case there seemed to be everything to keep him in the world, and his resignation is to be taken as a singular proof of the hold which the life of the Church had taken upon the imagination of his time.

Pippin sole major domus.

These Frankish assemblies were far from being mere Church councils. At each of them measures were discussed by which the great aim of the Carolingian rulers, the union of the German races under Frankish rule, might be furthered. In spite of the great successes of Martel, the tributary peoples, still under native "dukes," were inclined to assert their independence whenever they saw their opportunity. Of course such national movements appear in the Frankish records — the only ones we have — as rebellion; but we must learn to read between the lines of such reports, and to see that these subject territories had also a right on their side. Especially was this the case in Aquitaine, where the population was largely of Romanic origin, separated from the Frankish conquerors by both tradition and interest. A native duke, Hunold, had gathered the patriotic elements of the province about him, and took advantage of the death of Martel to make hostile movements against the Franks. The two brothers joined forces against him, but seem to have recovered authority over only a small part of the Aquitanian territory.

Revolt in Aquitaine.

In Alemannia, or Swabia, as it is now beginning to be called, there was also an independent "duke," who was a constant annoyance to the brothers, until, after several campaigns, he was entirely defeated, and Swabia made a part of the Frankish kingdom. Most dangerous of all was Bavaria, which was under the leadership of a well-recognized ducal family, and only subject to Frankish control as long as an army was in the field. The duke Odilo had married a sister of Pippin and Karlmann, but this did not prevent him from forming a combination with Aquitania, Swabia, and even with the Saxons, and far-off Slavonic enemies, against the Franks. A legate of the pope at that time in Bavaria was induced to throw his influence against the Frankish princes, whom the pope himself was treating with every mark of favor. One brilliant campaign in the marshes of the river Lech decided the war, and brought Bavaria again under the nominal control of the Franks, though the duke Odilo seems to have been reinstated in his power. As for the papal legate, we have a curious little speech of Pippin to him, which is a true echo of the times:—

In Alemannia.

In Bavaria.

"Now, then, my lord Sergius, we see plainly that you are no messenger of St. Peter. You told us yesterday, before the battle, that your apostolic master, by his own authority, and that of the blessed Peter, had forbidden us to claim our rights against the Bavarians; and we told you that neither the blessed Peter nor your apostolic master had given you any such commission. And you can see, that if the blessed Peter had known that we were not in the right, he would not have stood by

us in this battle; but now rest assured, that through the aid of the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, and through the judgment of God, to which we have not hesitated to commit ourselves, the Bavarians and their land belong to the Franks."

The divine commission of the Franks to the headship of the West could not be more clearly expressed.

Restrictions upon marriage.

Thus far we have seen that the Frankish rulers had done nothing which could give to the popes any claim of authority over the national Frankish Church. But there seem to have been many questions of doctrine and practice on which Pippin did not feel himself quite secure, and he applies to the pope for information on these points. The answer of the pope has come down to us. It is of interest as showing the gradual increase in the control of the Church over the affairs of daily life, and as paving the way for that entire subjection of all human concerns to the papal will, which was to be the groundwork of mediæval society. As the family is the basis of social life, the papacy aimed its chief efforts in social reform at what it called the purification of the marriage relation. Its first great principle was that no clergyman should be married, and then it tried to make marriage for the layman as difficult as possible. This it hoped to accomplish by restricting the degrees of relationship within which it should be lawful for a man to marry. In the letter to Pippin the pope forbids marriage between any persons who have any consciousness of relationship, however remote. This was afterward made more definite, and gradually extended until it was forbidden to marry within the first seven, or, according

to our reckoning, the first four, degrees of relationship. Here we find, perhaps for the first time in the West, the prohibition of marriage between what were called "spiritual relatives," that is, between god-parents and god-children. Such laws might have a good effect in a time of unbridled passions, and may have done far more than we know to strengthen the purity of domestic life. That there was need enough of such effort is clear from every account of the morals of the leading men in the Frankish kingdom.

Close connection with Rome.

Our special interest in these regulations is, that they come from Rome, were given at the request of the leader of the Franks, and thus knit more firmly together these two rising powers of the new Christian world. The pope urges the prince to sit in judgment with the bishops of the kingdom upon those who defy the authority of the Church, and if these still continue obstinate, to send them under careful guard to Rome, where he will himself decide the case. The pope thus declares himself to be the final judge in all church offences. At the first synod held after the abdication of Karlmann, the close alliance of the papacy with the Frankish Church is more distinctly expressed than ever before. The pope is there clearly recognized as the head of the whole Church, the archbishops are to receive their confirmation from him, and he is to be the last authority in cases of doubt. At the same time it is clear that there was a large party which saw this growing intimacy with alarm, and was doing what it could to make things uncomfortable for Boniface and the papal party. It is worth noticing, that Boniface is now made definitely archbishop of

Mainz, and thus brought into a closer connection with the eastern parts of the kingdom. Mainz continues for many centuries to be the chief episcopal seat of Germany.

Pippin, king of the Franks, 752.

We have now come to the point where the two courses of history we have been following — the growing danger of the papacy in Italy and the increasing power of the Carolingians in the north — were to join in one great stream and bring about a momentous alliance. With the sanction of the papacy *Pippin is crowned king of the Franks.* We have seen by what slow and cautious steps this great change was prepared. A hundred years before, a Carolingian, Grimoald, had dared to call his son king and had suffered for it. Charles Martel had preferred the substance of power to the name, and yet he had not thought it worth while to fill the vacant throne. His sons had done this, it is true, but there had been not even a pretence that the royal puppet was a real flesh-and-blood king, and now the time had come when the name and the thing were to be united. In fact, so slight was the apparent change that the writers of the time did not think it worth while to go into the matter at all, but only say this: that Pippin sent a distinguished ambassador to the pope to ask him "with regard to the kings of the Franks, who at that time did not have the royal power, whether this was a good state of things." And the answer was: "It seems better that he who has the power in the state should be and be called king rather than he who is falsely called the king."

That is the whole story. Later writers have dressed

it up so that it looks as if the pope had by an act of authority created the kingdom of the Carolingians and thus gained a certain right of sovereignty over them; but all we really know about it is what we have just said. Pippin wanted the name of king, and thought it would seem less like a clear usurpation and make less trouble for his successors if he should get the pope to sanction his act. On the other hand, the condition of the papacy in Italy had become positively desperate. Pope Gregory III. had died in the same year with Charles Martel. He had made his relations with the Lombard king Liutprand still more intolerable by aiding the rebel duke of Spoleto against the king, and one of the earliest acts of his successor Zacharias was to give up all connection with this rebel. Liutprand was one of those singular compounds of boldness, ferocity, and piety which marked the age we are studying. He made it clear that nothing would satisfy him but the complete conquest of the remnants of imperial power in Italy, after which the entire ruin of the papal sovereignty over its territory was only a question of time.

Desperate straits of Rome.

Liutprand was already prepared to attack the territory of the Exarchate when the pope determined to try the effect of a personal interview. In all the splendor of his great office he went to meet the Lombard king just over the border. If we may believe the biographer of Zacharias, his entreaties, enforced by the threat of eternal punishment, were too much for the fierce soldier. He promised everything; but hardly had the pope turned his back, when the Lombard's land-hunger began to get the better of his piety. He did

The Exarchate in danger.

keep his promise so far that he respected the lands of the Church, but the expedition into the Exarchate he could not give up. His army was soon before the very gates of Ravenna. The Exarch, whose duty it was to find support and defence for the pope, was now glad to beg that Zacharias would once more try his powers of persuasion and save him from the threatening danger. Again, with undaunted courage, and attended on his way by constant signs of divine favor, the venerable bishop sought the Lombard camp, and again his mission was successful. A truce of five years with the Exarchate, and of twenty with the papacy, was the fruit of these efforts.

Lombards in the Exarchate.

Within a year Liutprand died. His successor, Rachis, only waited for the truce with the empire to end before pouring an army into the Exarchate and laying regular siege to Ravenna. A third time the pope went in person to the hostile camp, and there, we know not by what arguments, so worked upon the mind of the king that he not only gave up the siege of Ravenna, but of his own accord laid down his sceptre and consecrated himself to the life of a monk. In the monastery of Monte Cassino, which he now entered, he found his noble brother, Karlmann, the son of Martel. We can only hope to understand the age by trying to see the meaning of these strange contradictions.

Abdication of Rachis.

Papacy turns to Pippin.

It was in the very midst of these troubles that the famous embassy of Pippin came to Rome and laid before the pope the momentous question on which the future of the Carolingian house might depend. The pope could not hesitate. Liutprand had

been held in check; Rachis had been subdued; but a new king might at any moment arise, to whom the promises of his predecessors would have no value. And here, ready to his hand, was the opening for an alliance which might be worth more to him than any truce with the faithless Lombard, or any hope from the distant and indifferent court of Constantinople. So the answer was sent, as we have seen already, and the pope might well feel that he had created the new royal power which was henceforth to govern the nation of the Franks.

Pope Stephen in Gaul.

The wisdom of the papal answer was soon to be proved. It had hardly been given when the new Lombard king, Aistulf, who, by the way, had done more in the way of promises than any of the rest, entered the Exarchate and took Ravenna. The Pope Stephen — Zacharias was now dead — sent ambassadors to protest; but the king's only answer was to march straight for Rome, and lay siege to the Eternal City. Stephen saw but one way out of his distress, — to go up into Gaul and claim from Pippin the reward for the favor which Zacharias had done him. A formal invitation already sent by Pippin confirmed his intention. Under the protection of the Frankish legate he passed through the Lombard territory to Pavia, where Aistulf received him with respect, and did not try to prevent him by force from going on his way. The mission of Stephen in Gaul was entirely successful. According to the papal account, the king came out to meet him, and with all his court threw himself at the feet of the pontiff, then, rising, walked by the side of the pope's horse. The Frankish writers say, however,

that the pope did the prostrating and refused to rise from the ground until Pippin had promised to give him his aid against the Lombards. Probably both stories are the work of a later time; they are worth our interest as showing the two ideas of the bargain thus made. We shall see by and by why this was an important question.

Karlmann's mission.

Stephen spent the winter in Gaul. He consecrated anew both Pippin and his two sons, **Karl** and **Karlmann**, as kings of the Franks. One singular incident of this visit we must notice. The elder Karlmann, whom we left as a monk in Monte Cassino, suddenly appears at the Frankish court and urges his brother the king not to listen to the demands of Stephen. It was said that the abbot of Monte Cassino, whose territory was greatly exposed to the Lombard attacks, had given his monk positive orders to try and persuade his royal brother not to offend the Lombard king by listening to the complaint of the pope, and that the monk had not dared to break his vow of obedience. Of course his mission was a failure. He was treated with open contempt, and imprisoned in a monastery at Vienne, where he soon died.

Aistulf raises the siege of Rome.

The pope and Pippin returned to Italy together. While the former had been in Gaul, Aistulf had been pressing the siege of Rome. He wanted the city; but failing to get that, he was glad enough to dig up as many bodies of saints as he could and carry them off to Lombardy, where they were the most precious kind of property; another singular instance of piety combined with a bitter hostility to the papacy. Putting this with the action of Liutprand

and Rachis together, we may say that the Lombards were at this time inclined to show every respect for the person and the spiritual office of the popes, but did not see that this obliged them to have any respect whatever for the papal lands. What was threatened by the Lombard kings of the eighth century has been actually carried out by a king of Lombardy in the nineteenth. It is no mere fancy to think of Victor Emmanuel as the historical successor of Aistulf.

The immediate danger was removed by the advance of the Frankish king. Aistulf at first resisted, but soon shut himself up in Pavia, and agreed to return all the lands of Rome. Pippin had no thought of conquest, and returned to Gaul. He had no sooner crossed the Alps, than Aistulf again besieged Rome with a larger force than before, and declared that he would not leave to the pope a single hand's breadth of territory. Stephen now sent letters to Pippin full of prayers, promises, and threats. He reminds the king that all his victories have been won through the aid of St. Peter, who now calls upon him to make such return as is possible. If he would listen, he should have continued success; if not, if he suffers the city of Peter to be lacerated and tormented by the Lombards, his own soul shall be lacerated and tormented in hell, with the devil and his pestilential angels. It is well to notice that the gross ideas of the religion of Christ were not confined to the rude barbarians of the North, but were shared by him who claimed to be the vicar of Christ on earth. The test of fidelity to the religion was to be devotion to the very human institutions which had grown up about it. More and more the popes were

Rome again besieged.

trying to make men believe that religion and the Church were one and the same thing, and men seemed more than ever ready to meet this claim half way.

Second expedition of Pippin.

The result of the pressing petitions of Stephen was a second Italian expedition. There are many reasons for believing that the Frankish nobility did not especially relish these long and weary journeys over the Alps, and it is a proof of the great power of Pippin over his people that he could persuade them to the undertaking. As the Frankish army moved over the pass of the Mont Cenis, and came down into the plain of Susa, Aistulf had been moving his forces from Rome northward, and awaited the attack. Again the Franks won an easy victory, and, as before, Aistulf shut himself up in Pavia. Pippin began a regular siege, but the Lombard king saw that his cause was lost, and agreed to surrender. His kingdom and his life were left to him, we are told, at the prayer of the Frankish nobles. He agreed to pay a certain yearly tribute to the Franks and to acknowledge their sovereignty. In other words, the Lombards were put into pretty much the same relation with the Franks as were the Bavarians and the Aquitanians.

Pippin's donation to the papacy.

Far more important for us are the terms regarding the lands of Rome, which the Lombards had taken. It will not be forgotten that the true sovereign of Rome, during all this time, was the Eastern Emperor. Indeed, a great part of the lands taken by the Lombards did not by any possibility belong to Rome, but to the Exarchate, which was the representative of the Emperor's authority in Italy. So that if Pippin wished to restore these lands to their true owner,

he had only to deal with the Emperor or the Exarch. But we remember also how thoroughly the Empire had forfeited all rights over Rome, by utter neglect of its duty of defence, and we have seen how, in the moment of its greatest need, the Exarchate had even turned for help to Rome. While Pippin was on his march to Italy, a messenger had come from the Emperor at Constantinople, to remind the king that when he had recovered the lands taken by the Lombards from the Empire, he might, if he pleased, be so good as to hand them over to the Emperor again. Pippin assured him that his sole object in this expedition was to serve St. Peter, and that if he got the lands, no matter to whom they had belonged, St. Peter should have them. And he kept his word. He forced from Aistulf an agreement to restore all that he had taken, both from the Empire and from the Church of St. Peter, and then, with all solemnity, he transferred this great property to the pope. It included lands along the shore of the Adriatic, as far north as Ravenna, and reaching across the peninsula to the western coast, both north and south from Rome. The army was getting impatient, and Pippin went home; but he left behind him trusty men who went over the whole of the surrendered territory, took the keys of all the cities, and carried them to Rome, where they laid them on the tomb of the Apostle, as a sign of his sovereignty. 756.

This was the real beginning of the **States of the Church.** It is true the popes did not actually take possession of great parts of the surrendered territory, but what they did have was worth vastly more to them now that they were reasonably

Beginning of the States of the Church.

sure of being defended in it by their new ally. This was the pay for the service which the popes had done to Pippin, in supporting his usurpation of the Frankish throne. It seemed like an enormous increase in the power of the papacy, and considering that it was a time when no power could be really strong which was not backed up by a landed possession, it was probably the only means of keeping the respect of the world. But this gift of land was like those gifts which the evil fairy gives to the child in the fairy tales. It changed the character of the papacy from a power over the souls of men to a sovereignty over land, and with this it brought all those worldly cares, which were wholly inconsistent with a spiritual office. There is something absurd, not to say impious, in the idea of a papal court, a papal administration, and most of all, a papal army. These were things with which Christianity had nothing to do, and there have been wise men in every age who have seen what the great danger was. The words of such men were, however, always unheard, because it seemed like such a splendid thing for the head of the Church to be rich and powerful, so that he might outshine the princes of the world. Only in our day, in the great year 1870, and then by a train of causes wholly apart from the question of wise or unwise, has the papacy lost the last foot of that fatal gift of land which ever since the days of King Pippin has been the chief source of its many weaknesses and sins.

It has always been an interesting question just how great the power of the popes over their lands was, or was meant to be. Papal scholars have always understood that by the terms of this gift the popes were to

be just as much sovereigns of all this territory as Pippin was sovereign in Gaul. Others have believed, however, that this was only a change of sovereigns from the Greek emperor to the Frankish king, and that the pope remained what he had always been,—a sovereign only in the same sense in which every bishop was ruler, under some overlord, of a large piece of territory. According to the first view, Pippin would be only the servant of the papacy, its military defender, whenever his help should be necessary; according to the latter view, he would be the overlord of Rome, and the pope would owe him the same kind of allegiance which the Bishop of Metz or of Orleans owed him.

Rights of papacy to lands.

The problem was not made any simpler by the use of the title "Patricius of Rome" for Pippin. This was a name given in the later Roman Empire to an officer set over a province by the government. It meant, if it meant anything, the representative of the highest temporal power in the province. Its use for the Frankish king, then, implied that he held the supreme temporal authority in Rome, subject perhaps to an implied sovereignty of the Eastern Emperor; in other words, that the pope was *under* him in political matters. If he had been a person sent by the Emperor at Constantinople, he would, of course, have been bound to respect the Emperor's authority. As things were, he was justified in thinking of himself as standing in the Emperor's place. We shall see later that the pope preferred to consider himself as taking the Emperor's place, and thus to be sovereign over the "Patricius." We cannot go further into this question

Pippin "Patricius of Rome."

here, but must keep it in mind until we come to it again in the history of Pippin's greater son.

Aistulf the Lombard died soon after his misfortune. The papal and Frankish writers describe him as a monster of treachery and cruelty, the enemy of God and man; the Lombard history, on the other hand, speaks of him with great respect, as a man of singular piety, the founder of churches and the benefactor of his people. We may well believe that both reports have a measure of truth in them. At his death, the royal monk Rachis, tired, it would seem, of his life in Monte Casino, claimed the Lombard throne. He was opposed by the pope, to whom, of course, the monastic vow was sacred, and was finally put aside by a usurper named **Desiderius**, who was to be the last king of the Lombard race. Pippin, at the request of the pope, approved the choice of Desiderius, and winked at the addition of several fine towns to the long list of those which he had already confirmed to the papacy. The reign of the new king began with every prospect of peaceable relations with the Franks and with the popes. It must not be forgotten that in all these dealings with Italy we see no attempt on the part of Pippin to gain one bit of land for himself or for any of his followers.

Desiderius last king of the Lombards.

How much the success of the Italian wars was worth to Pippin, we see at the great May Meeting of the next year. From every quarter came proofs of the commanding position of the Frankish king. Ambassadors from the Eastern Roman Empire came to beg him to restore the lands of the Exarchate in Italy; but the time for that was long gone

Strong position of Pippin.

by. Messengers from the pope and from the Lombards came to receive anew the confirmation of all that had been done in Italy, not only from the king, but also from the assembled princes, both lay and clerical, of the Frankish nation. The young duke, Tassilo of Bavaria, the nephew of Pippin, whose first deed of arms had been in the Italian war, appeared to do homage to the king. With his folded hands laid in those of his uncle, he vowed by all the saints to be his true and faithful vassal, and repeated the same vow of allegiance to the two princes Karl and Karlmann, the sons of Pippin. Thus was Bavaria formally declared to be a part of the Frankish kingdom, and the worst crime possible for her duke would be the refusal to come at the call of his lord the king, whenever his service in war should be needed. As usual, the meeting of the nobles was at the same time a council of the Church, and a long list of decrees were passed to regulate the life of the clergy and their control over the lives of all men. These decrees were almost wholly in the line of those marriage rules we have already spoken of. They were intended to make it still more clear that the Frankish state was founded on the rock of a sincere devotion to the Church, and of a thorough determination to bring the lives of its subjects under its control.

Submission of Bavaria.

During the rest of Pippin's reign he was not again called upon to lead an army into Italy, but not a year passed without some appeal to him to regulate some difficulty or other between the neighboring lands of the Lombards and the Romans. Desiderius was in no haste to hand over the places he had

Pippin's activity.

promised; the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento were a constant thorn in his side, and to reach them he could hardly avoid treading upon the forbidden ground of the papal territory; then again, all along the border there was a debatable ground on which one side or the other was constantly trespassing. So that it was plain that a renewal of the recent difficulties was only a question of time.

Reduction of Aquitaine.

Almost as important for the future of the kingdom as the affairs of Italy was the conquest of **Aquitaine**. The duke Hunold, who had made trouble in the early days of Pippin, had given up his power and gone into a monastery. His son **Waifar** had taken his place, and had almost at once begun a new series of quarrels with the Franks. The same patriotic elements which had supported his father, rallied around him, and the war took on the character of a struggle of a brave and vigorous people for its independence of foreign control. Nine times during the course of his reign did Pippin cross the Loire and carry the war into the enemy's country. We have little account of these expeditions, in some cases a mere mention; but it is clear that the resistance was desperate, and that nothing short of a complete conquest would ever bring the country into the control of the Frankish rulers. The attack was usually made from the eastern side and at first only in the form of a summer campaign, the troops returning then to winter at home. Finally, however, the king saw that this would not do, and we find him

768. wintering in the country. The result was that when the usual winter uprising took place, the king and the army were on the spot and fol-

lowed it up without delay. Rumor had it that Pippin, despairing of capturing the duke by fair means, sent a murderer to take his life; and though this cannot be proved, it is certain that Waifar was murdered in the following summer by one of his followers. This ended what the Frankish writers call the rebellion, but what we see to be rather the struggle of a nation, made up mainly of Gallo-Roman stock, against a rule which it could only look upon as a foreign tyranny.

After the death of this, the last duke of the Aquitanians, the whole country submitted to the Frankish arms. A great assembly was held at Saintes, and measures for the government of the conquered province were passed. These measures interest us as foreshadowing the work of Pippin's son Charlemagne after his far wider conquests. First of all, the interests of the Church are provided for. Churches which have suffered in the late campaigns are to be rebuilt; church property which has been confiscated is to be restored as it had been, we remember, in the Frankish country itself; that is, by allowing it to remain in the hands of the laymen who now held it, on condition that they should devote a part of the income to the service of the Church. Such laymen must see to it that they have proper documents made out to show that the land they are holding really belongs to the Church, and that they are holding it only for their *use*, not as their own property. This was the sort of tenure called a "precarium," and we shall find it very important when we come to study the feudal system.

Government of Aquitaine.

Church lands.

Then as to the civil government, we see that the so-

called duchy had disappeared with Waifar. Its place might have been supplied in many ways. For instance, Pippin might have placed one of his sons there as administrator, and thus have kept up the idea of Aquitaine as a province by itself; but this would probably have given rise to new conspiracies, might even have turned his own house against the king. The plan followed was one which tended to make the people of Aquitaine feel themselves a part of the Frankish kingdom. In place of the duke was set, not one ruler, but a multitude of royal officers called "counts." These were probably in many cases such Aquitanians as could be depended upon, and who would, of course, be more acceptable to the inhabitants. Others were Franks, who would be sent to live in the province, and given the revenue of certain lands there for their support. Their duty was to look out for the interests of the king, to act as judges, to collect the revenue and to lead the military whenever there was occasion. They were appointed by the king and owed an account of their office to him. If you will carefully keep in mind this character of the "count" as a royal officer, and compare it with the meaning of "duke" as the head of a people, usually in opposition to any higher power, you will have an important guide to much of the history of the Middle Ages. Wherever you come across dukes you may almost always be sure that they represent some local authority, which has grown out of the people, and expresses on a small scale a national feeling; wherever you find a count, you may generally be sure that he owes his origin to a royal appointment, though he may have entirely for

Frankish "Counts" in Aquitaine.

"Count" and "Duke."

gotten this, and in the progress of time have come to stand for a distinctly local feeling just as much as any duke.

We have again to notice in these acts of Pippin a case of that curious respect for the rights of the conquered which we saw in the chapter on law. All subjects are to have the freest right of approach to the king, and if any one molest them on the way, he is to be severely punished. So again every resident of Aquitania, be he "Roman, or Salian, or from whatever other province he may come," is to be judged by the law of his own country. Many documents which have come down to us show that this, which seems like an impossible degree of consideration for the rights of the conquered, was actually carried out, and that the Roman subject of the Franks was tried by the Frankish judge according to the Roman law; the Goth, according to the Gothic law.

Personality of law.

You will see how different the treatment of Aquitaine was from that of Bavaria, where the duke Odilo after his defeat had been allowed to remain as head of the Bavarian nation, and where, upon the death of this duke, his son Tassilo had in the most solemn manner declared his allegiance to the king of the Franks. That was six years ago, and now while Pippin was in the thick of the Aquitanian war, the Bavarian duke, bound to the king by the closest ties of relationship as well as of honor, declared his entire independence. Again the instinct of local authority had proved too strong for the principle of allegiance to a central power. The moment was well chosen. Pippin had his hands full at home, and it

Tassilo declares his independence. 764.

was not until well into the reign of Charlemagne that Bavaria was really incorporated into the Frankish kingdom.

Division of 768.

The last act of the reign of King Pippin was the division of the kingdom between his two sons Karl and Karlmann. At the former division of the year 741 the purpose was clearly to make an eastern and a western province out of the purely Frankish lands, and then to add the southern province of Aquitaine, without dividing it, as a tributary state, owing allegiance to both the rulers of the north. Now, however, the division seems to have been more on the basis of a northern and a southern half, though so important a province as Neustria is not mentioned at all in the brief records which have come down to us.

Pippin's services to Europe.

Hardly had Pippin thus provided for the future when death overtook him. He left to his sons rather a plan for future action than the full accomplishment of the task he had set before himself. And yet the one solid foundation for all their work, the willing allegiance of the Frankish people, was prepared for them by his energy. This is the real importance of Pippin, — that he had given to his people a governing house in which it could have confidence. He had strengthened his family by the alliance with Rome, and had cemented that alliance by a service which it seemed could never be forgotten. He had thrown all the weight of his position to aid the church of Gaul in its efforts to elevate the life of the people, and had secured it in the possession of those landed estates which were necessary to its support. He stands before us in the dim outlines of the writers of his time, as a grand

and commanding figure. It has been his misfortune to be overshadowed by his far greater son, and the world has too often forgotten that without the preparation which he had laid much of the best work of that son would have been impossible.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARLEMAGNE KING OF THE FRANKS

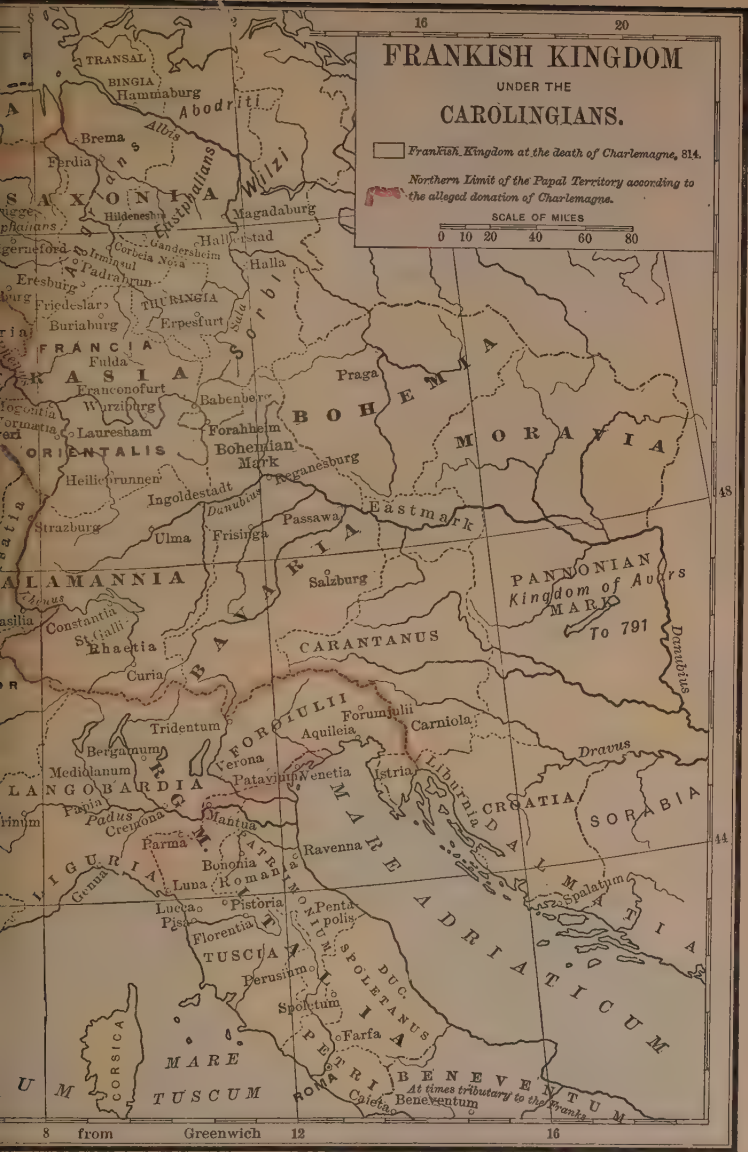
AUTHORITIES: — See Chapter XII.

MODERN WORKS: — Sigurd Abel: Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reiches unter Karl dem Grossen. 2 Bde. 1866–1883. — Alphonse Vétault: Charlemagne. 1877. — Eginhardus: Leben und Wandel Karls des Grossen. Einleitung, Urschrift, Urkundensammlung. Ed. J. L. Ideler. Hamb. 1839. — Eginhardus: Life of the Emperor Charles the Great. Trans. by W. Glaister. Lond. 1877. — Eginhard: Life of Charlemagne. Trans. by S. E. Turner, in Harper's Half-Hour Series. — James Bryce: The Holy Roman Empire. — Gaston Paris: Histoire Poetique de Charlemagne. 1865.

IN studying the history of Charlemagne we are dealing with one of the greatest men of all time. To be sure, the way had been prepared for him by others who were great men too in their day, but it was for him to gather up the various threads of policy which the others had begun, and weave them all together into a great fabric of government. He stands at the end of one age, and at the beginning of another, and what he did was the foundation of all the future history of Europe. It is for this reason that we must spend more time in studying his reign than we have given to any other period of equal length.

We saw how at the death of King Pippin the kingdom of the Franks was divided into two parts, or

4
0
4
52
48
44
NORTH MERCIA
EAST ENGLE
ANGLIA
WEALAS
Northampton
Tintern
EASTSEAXE
Lundenwic
WESTSEAXE
Wintanceaster
Cantwarabirh
SUTHSEAXE
Portesmutha
Noviomagus
Toxandria
Flandria
Bracbant
Heristallium
GERMANIA
Corbeia
Rotomagus
Sequana
MEDIA
Suessiones
Remi
St. Dionysii
FRANCIA NEUSTRIA
Parisius
Redones
BRITANNIA
Mark of Britain
OCCIDENTALIS
Senones
Trecas
Andegavi
Cenomannis
Turones
Aurelianis
Ligeris
BURGUNDIA
INFERIOR
Namnetes
Bituricas
Nivernum
Augusto-dunum
Pictavensis
Bituricus
Pictavis
Cabillio
Santonae
Lemovici
Arvernum
Lugdunum
Engolisma
AQUITANIA
Arvernus
Vienna
Burdegala
Petragorica
Tolosa
Cadurcia
Albigae
Nemausus
Arelate
VASCONIA
Cantabria
Roscidavallis
Pampilona
Carcassona
Narbona
Massilia
ASTURIA
SPANISH MARK
SEPTIMANIA (GOTHIA)
Hiberus
Caesaraugusta
Barcinona
Terracona
OCEANUS
Longitude West
Longitude


FRANKISH KINGDOM
UNDER THE
CAROLINGIANS.
Frankish Kingdom at the death of Charlemagne, 814.
Northern Limit of the Papal Territory according to the alleged donation of Charlemagne.
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80
16
20
48
44
8
from Greenwich
12
16
TRANSAL
BINGIA
Hamnaburg
Abodriti
Brema
Ferdia
Hildesheim
Magadaburg
Halberstad
Halla
Gandersheim
Corbeia Nova
Eresburg
Padrabrun
Friedeslar
THURINGIA
Buriaburg
Erpesfurt
FRANCIA
ORIENTALIS
Fulda
Franconofurt
Babenberg
Praga
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Wurzburg
Lauresham
Forahheim
Bohemian Mark
Heiligbrunnen
Ingoldestadt
Danubius
Ratisbona
Eastmark
Strazburg
Ulma
Frisinga
Passawa
ALAMANNIA
Salzburg
PANNONIAN Kingdom of Avars
To 791
Danubius
Constantia
St Galli
Rhaetia
CARANTANUS
Curia
Tridentum
Forumjulii
Aquileia
Carniola
Bergamum
Mediolanum
Verona
Patavium
Venetia
Istria
Liburnia
Dravus
CROATIA
SORABIA
LANGOBARDIA
Papia
Padus
Cremona
Mantua
Parma
Ravenna
MARE ADRIATICUM
Bononia
Romania
Luna
Lucca
Pisa
Pistoria
Florentia
Pentapolis
Spalatum
DALMATIA
TUSCIA
Perusium
DUC. SPOLETANUS
Spoletum
Farfa
PATRIMONIUM
ROMANI
BENEVENTUM
At times tributary to the Franks
Caieta
Beneventum
MARE TUSCUM
CORSICA

rather that the *government* over the kingdom was divided, for some large parts of the territory seem to have been in the hands of the two brothers together. The fact is, that we know next to nothing about this division, and hardly more about the joint reign of the brothers. The only thing really clear is, that they did not get along very well together, that Karl was distinctly the more active and capable of the two, and that after four years the younger brother, Karlmann, died, leaving two sons. Here was a chance for the old miseries of division to begin again; but fortunately the Franks seem by this time to have had enough of that, and to have seen that their greatest hope for the future lay in a united government. The widow and children of Karlmann went to the court of the Lombard king Desiderius and were cared for by him. The whole Frankish people acknowledged Charlemagne as their king. Of course he was not yet called Charlemagne, but simply Karl, and he was yet to show himself worthy of the addition "Magnus."

Charlemagne, sole king of the Franks, 771.

Conquest of Lombardy. — It is curious to see that Charlemagne, whose whole reign was to be filled with wars against almost all his neighbors, should have begun by seeking the alliance of perhaps the most dangerous of all these neighbors, and asking for the hand of the daughter of Desiderius in marriage. When the pope, Stephen, heard that there was a prospect of such a marriage, he wrote the most violent letters to the young kings, beseeching them by all that was holy to have nothing to do with

Marries a Lombard princess.

the foul race of the Lombards.[1] In the course of the letter the pope mildly reminds them that they ought not to put away their present wives; but it is clear that the real evil in his eyes was the Lombard marriage, not the trifling sin of bigamy. The result was that Charlemagne married the Lombard princess, and thus an alliance was made which seemed to threaten all the good results of the two previous reigns, so far as the Roman interests were concerned. And in fact we may well believe that Charlemagne had no intention at first of making war on the Lombards. It was not until the pope began once more to call upon him, and to show him how dangerous the situation was, that he consented to cross the Alps. Even then he tried his best to make peace with his father-in-law, and even

[1] This is his language: "It has been brought to our notice, and we have heard it with great sorrow, that Desiderius, king of the Lombards, is trying to join his daughter with one of your excellencies in marriage. If this be true, it is certainly the invention of the devil, and is not to be called a marriage, but rather a mere wicked union. For what could be greater folly, O most excellent sons of a great king, than that your illustrious Frankish race, which outshines all nations, and the glorious and noble offspring of your royal power, should be defiled by the foul and faithless race of the Lombard, — which is not even to be reckoned among the nations, — from whom the race of lepers is well known to have sprung? No one of sound mind can think of it, that such illustrious kings could bind themselves in such a horrible and abominable union; for what has light to do with darkness, or the faithful with the infidel?

"For, O most gentle and divinely ordained kings, already by the will of God and by the command of your father you are bound in lawful wedlock, having taken your beautiful wives, like noble and illustrious kings, from your own fatherland, from the noble race of the Franks. You ought to be bound by love of them, and certainly it is not right for you to put them away, and to take other wives of a foreign race."

went so far as to offer him a large sum of money, if he would agree to return the lands of the papacy. Only when this was refused did he make up his mind to fight, and gave an emphasis to his declaration of war by sending his new wife home to her father. We are beginning to see that our hero was not too nice in the matter of his family morals.

The defiance of Desiderius did not help him when Charlemagne had passed the Alps. He made scarcely any resistance, but, like his predecessors, shut himself up within the walls of Pavia. There can be little doubt that the power of the Lombards had been seriously weakened by the residence in Italy. As yet they had not been able to face a Frankish army in the open field, and had had success only when they were opposed to the degenerate inhabitants of Italy. We get all this from Frankish writers, it is true; but they would have been glad to make the resistance as great as possible, in order to magnify the greatness of their hero. Let us see how these events looked to the men of a couple of generations afterward. In the year 883 an aged monk in the monastery of St. Gallen, in Switzerland, wrote the story of these times as he had heard it from his father and from another still older monk. He tells about Desiderius shutting himself up in Pavia, and then goes on to say: —

Charlemagne before Pavia.

"It had happened some years before that one of Karl's most distinguished nobles, by the name of Otker, had incurred the wrath of the dread king, and had betaken himself to Desiderius. Now when they heard of the approach of the terrible Karl, they climbed up into a high tower, whence they could see in all directions. When the advanced guard appeared, which was stronger than in

the armies of Darius or Julius, Desiderius said to Otker, 'Is Karl with this great army, do you think?' and he answered, 'Not yet.' But when he saw the main army, gathered from the whole broad empire, he said with confidence to Otker, 'Surely the victorious Karl is with these troops'; and Otker answered, 'Not yet, not yet.' Then Desiderius began to be troubled, and said, 'What shall we do if still more come with him?' Otker said, 'You will soon see how he will come; but what will become of us, I know not.' And behold, while they were speaking, appeared the servants of his household, a never-resting multitude. 'That is Karl,' said the terrified Desiderius. But Otker said, 'Not yet, not yet.' Then appeared the bishops and abbots, and the chaplains with their companions. When he beheld these, the prince, dazed with fear and longing for death, stammered out these words, 'Let us go down and hide in the earth before the wrath of so terrible an enemy.' But Otker, who in better times had known well the power and the armament of the incomparable Karl, answered, full of dread, 'When you see a harvest of steel waving in the fields, and the Po and the Ticino dashing steel-black waves against the city walls, then you may believe that Karl is coming.' He had scarcely spoken when there appeared in the north and west, as it were, a dark cloud, which wrapped the clear day in most dreadful shadow. But as the king drew near, there flashed upon the besieged from the gleaming weapons a day that was more terrible for them than any night. Then they saw him, Karl, the man of steel, his arms covered with plates of steel, his iron breast and his broad shoulders protected by a steel harness; his left hand carried aloft the iron lance, for his right was always ready for the victorious steel. His thighs, which others leave uncovered in order the more easily to mount their horses, were covered on the outside with iron scales. The greaves of steel I need not mention, for they were common to the whole army. His shield was all of steel, and his horse was iron in color and in spirit. This armor all who rode before him, by his side, or who followed him, in fact, the whole army, had tried to imitate as closely as possible. Steel filled the fields and roads. The rays of the sun were reflected from gleaming steel. The people, paralyzed by fear, did homage to the bristling steel. The fear of the gleaming steel pierced down deep

into the earth. 'Alas the steel! Alas the steel!' resounded the confused cries of the inhabitants. The mighty walls trembled before the steel, and the courage of youths fled before the steel of the aged.

"And all this, which I, a stammering and toothless old man, have told with all too many words, the truthful seer Otker saw with one swift look, and said to Desiderius: 'There you have Karl, whom you have so long desired,' and with these words he fell to the ground like one dead."

Charlemagne king of the Lombards, 774.

At all events, whether the Lombard king was half frightened to death at sight of the Frankish host or not, he made but little resistance, and at the first sign of a regular siege, surrendered the city and his crown. The Lombard kingdom was at an end. Charlemagne had well fulfilled the promises of his race, and had made it clear that his first duty was to the Church of Rome. Not a hand seems to have been raised to help Desiderius in his distress. He was a usurper, and his reign had never been popular with many of the Lombard nobles. They now came in from all directions to accept Charlemagne as their king. We see here at the outset proofs of the singular moderation which marked the whole career of the man. He did not try to make Lombardy a part of the Frankish kingdom, but rather made himself king of the Lombards. The Lombard government was not disturbed. The only change was that whereas before the people had had Desiderius for their overlord, they now had Charles. By people we mean, of course, only the fighting men, the nobility and their followers. The laboring classes were of no account politically, and probably had no idea whatever as to who their sovereign might be. This holding of two powers by the

same man is something a little hard for us to understand; but it is a very common thing in all periods of history, and we shall often have to meet it again. It was really a matter of very great importance whether Lombardy was a mere province of the Franks, or whether it kept its own form of government, and simply took the Frankish king in place of its own. The Lombards had got possession of so large a part of Italy that their king might well call himself KING OF ITALY, and we shall soon see that title quite crowding out the smaller title of King of the Lombards.

Visit to Rome.

This conquest of Italy was of the greatest importance, by bringing Charlemagne into still closer relations with the papacy. It had been a very good thing for the popes that the power which had saved them from their dangerous enemy had itself been well removed from them. Now, however, this protecting power had come to be their neighbor, and there was danger that it might in its turn show the disagreeable results of too close neighborhood. Even before the conquest, while the Frankish army lay before the walls of Pavia, Charlemagne had gone to Rome, and had business dealings of the utmost importance with the pope, Hadrian. His reception had been of the most imposing sort. The pope sent his messengers miles out of the city to escort him, and prepared a magnificent procession to meet him at the gates. He himself hastened the next morning with all the clergy of Rome to welcome the king at the door of St. Peter's. Charlemagne, anxious, in his turn, to show every respect for the holy city and its bishop, kissed the steps of the church as he ascended, then embraced the pope,

and entered the church holding him by the hand. The clergy sang, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," and the procession moved to the grave of the apostle, said to be within the enclosure of the church. The next day was Easter, and the solemn ceremonies were continued. Charlemagne was unwearied in his devotion at the principal shrines of the holy city, and Hadrian could not be polite enough in his attentions. As yet, however, he had not invited the king to stay within the city, but had visited him at St. Peter's, which was then outside the main city, and had only asked him within for special visits to some sacred spot.

On the fourth day the pope came out once more with all state to St. Peter's, and had a conversation with Charlemagne which is full of interest for us. He began by reminding him of the promise which his father Pippin, together with his brother Karlmann and himself, had made to Pope Stephen during his visit to Gaul, that they would restore to the papacy certain lands in Italy, which the wicked Lombards had taken from it. He read him a copy of this document, and Charlemagne declared that he and his nobles were agreed to its terms. Then the king had a new copy of the agreement made out and signed by all the bishops, abbots, dukes, and counts in his following. He then laid the document on the altar, and afterward on the grave of the apostle, and handed it finally to the pope, swearing, as he did so, a mighty oath, that he would carry out all that it contained. A second copy was laid beneath the Gospels, near the relics of the apostle, and a third was carried home by

Donation of Pippin renewed.

the king himself. This detailed account, written by the biographer of Hadrian, shows how great the importance of this act was felt to be. By it the king of the Franks declared himself to be the defender of the rights of the papacy over its territory. The lands mentioned in the document are said to have included pretty much the whole of the Italian peninsula and a considerable strip on the eastern side of the Adriatic. The deed itself is lost, so that we shall never know just what was in it; but the common sense of the whole business seems to have been that the good King Pippin had been rather loose in giving to the papacy rights over lands which he never owned, and could not therefore very well give away, and that his son found this a cheap way of putting the pope in a good-natured state of mind. To grant him lands meant hardly more than this: that if he could get the lands, the king would see that he was not disturbed in his possession of them. The fact was that he never got the most important part of these lands, and that as time went on, his successors lost more and more of what he did get. The papal state grew but slowly, and very much as other states grew, by conquest, gift, or purchase; and these grants by the Frankish kings really conveyed little more than a certain guaranty of possession. And yet they have always served the papacy as a proof that the chief of Christian rulers were willing to support their temporal claims, and a war of words has arisen among scholars as to the true meaning of these famous documents. Generations afterward, when the popes had come to make much greater claims than they dared to make in Charlemagne's time,

Nature of the donation.

they brought out these old grants to support their rights.

Charlemagne "Patricius" of Rome.

Quite as important is the price which the popes were willing to pay for their lands. Charlemagne was formally given the same title which had been given to his father, "Patricius" of Rome, whatever that might mean. We saw then that it might mean two very different things: either that the Patricius was the sovereign of the Roman territory, with perhaps an implied overlordship of the Eastern Emperor, or that he was only the military defender of the Romans, while the real sovereignty was in the popes. Of course the popes were inclined to the latter view; but whatever Charlemagne may have thought about it at the time, it is perfectly clear afterward that he meant to be sovereign in Italy just as much as he was in Frankland. He issued laws, appointed officers, and saw that the government went on as regularly there as here; and this in spite of often-repeated reminders that the popes were not getting the lands he had promised them.

Conquest of Saxony.—While Charlemagne was thus engaged in the affairs of Italy, he was called off by a danger in the far North, which seemed likely to become more serious than any he had yet faced. This was the SAXON WAR. From the year 772 to 803, a period of over thirty years, this war was always on the programme of the Frankish policy, now resting for a few years, and now breaking out with increased fury, until finally the Saxon people, worn out with the long struggle against a superior foe, gave it up, and became a part of the Frankish Empire. This conflict is altogether the most

interesting of the many in which Charlemagne was engaged. It was carried on against a people of pure Germanic stock, who, moreover, had never changed the seats in which the earliest accounts of the German races find them.

The Saxon land.

The Saxon land is the country lying along the lower courses of the Rhine, Ems, Weser, and Elbe, and extending upward from the seacoast as far as the low mountains of Hessen and Thuringia. The present kingdom of Saxony is only a small fragment of this great territory. At the time of Charlemagne, the population of the land was made up of descendants of the very people whom Tacitus describes as living there seven hundred years before. If we may believe the Frankish historians, — and they are all we have, — the life of these people had hardly changed from that of their far-away ancestors of the days of Tacitus. They had escaped the dangers and lost the advantages of contact with the Romans, which had made such great changes in their brethren, the Visigoths, Franks, Burgundians, and the rest, even before they actually passed on to Roman soil. They seem to have kept up the habit of living in small groups, in villages rudely fortified, and these again grouped into cantons or districts, under the somewhat loose government of a leader, who was their captain in war and their presiding justice in time of peace. There is no trace of any royal power, such as we see plainly among the Franks, nor even of governors over any considerable extent of territory. It was the freest sort of political life imaginable. The only change that we can mark with any certainty is the development of a very

The people.

clearly defined nobility of rank. This appears from the SAXON LAW, which we have already caught a glimpse of in the chapter on Germanic laws. The wergeld of the Saxon noble was enormously greater than that of the same class in the other laws.

As to advance in anything that can be called civilization, we might as well be reading the stories of the earliest combats between the Roman legions and the wild barbarians of the northern forests. If anything, these Saxons were less affected by the life of the South than those earlier tribes. Christianity, in spite of repeated efforts of devoted missionaries, had made no progress among them. They still clung to the ferocious mythology of the North, and drew from its wild legends the inspiration for their desperate struggle against the Frank. **Their civilization.**

The only certain trace of political division is that into three branches: the Westphalians, living between Rhine and Weser; the Engern (Angrians), along both sides of the Weser; and the Eastphalians, between Weser and Elbe. Beyond the mouth of the Elbe there was a fourth group, of less distinct character, called the North Elbe people. But although this division is very clear, there is no sign of any separate governments along these lines. There was no duke of Westphalia or of Eastphalia, nor do we get any hint of anything more than a general gathering of all Saxon fighting men when danger was pressing. At other times the ancient jealousy of all permanent sovereignty was in full force. **Political organization.**

If, in speaking of the Aquitanians and Lombards, we had to regret that we have no native historian to give

us the spirit of the struggle for liberty of those great peoples, we must regret still more that no Saxon retained enough of the pride of his race to make use of the civilization of the conquerors to record the tremendous conflict which filled out a whole generation of his people's life. Not only are such accounts wanting, but when, a generation or two later, Saxons had learned the arts of civilization, their historians could find no better material than the glorification of the Frank who had broken the power of their ancestors. The so-called "Saxon Poet," who wrote about the year 900, simply put into his limping Latin verse the Annals of Einhard, written originally as a sort of courtly comment on the career of Charlemagne; and when, some half-century later, the good monk Widukind, of Corbei, undertook to write the history of the Saxon race in a true historic spirit, he, too, had no heart for the real meaning of the great struggle.[1] To him and all his kind it was simply a process by which his race was whipped out of the dangers of heathendom into the salvation of Christianity.

Our sources wholly Frankish.

[1] "And so the Saxons, having made trial of the varying friendship of the Franks, as to whom I need not speak here, since it may be found written in their own histories, remained bound in the error of their fathers, even down to the time of Charles the Great. But he, the most powerful of kings, was no less vigilant in his care. Being more far-sighted than any man of his day, he thought that a noble nation, his close neighbor, ought not to be held in a vain error, and pondered how, by any means, it might be led to the true way. Then, using sometimes mild persuasion and sometimes the violence of war, he finally brought them to it, in the thirtieth year of his reign. So that those who had once been allies and friends of the Franks, were now made brothers, and, as it were, one race in the Christian faith, as we now see them." - *Widukindi Res Gestæ Saxonicæ*, I. 14, 15.

The Frankish historians tell us that the immediate provocation to war came from the Saxons, "that perfidious race," who, disregarding all former treaties, improved the opportunity of the change of government in Frankland to try the mettle of the new king. But it seems very clear that Charlemagne did not need any distinct provocation. The borders of the two races ran, as Einhard says, in a low and open country, so that the temptation to border warfare was irresistible. Long before the time of Charlemagne the rulers of the Franks had seen that a conflict was inevitable. Charles Martel and Pippin had made several expeditions across the border, and had gained a nominal allegiance from those of the Saxons who were nearest to the danger. When Charles Martel sent out his summons for the army which was to meet the Mohammedan invasion, Saxon troops were among those who answered the call. But there is no sign of any real subjection of the people; and the loose political organization of the race made it possible for those who lived farther from the frontier to remain entirely unaffected by these movements.

Early border warfare.

We have very little account of the military operations of these thirty years of war. In the dim records of the time we see the heroic figure of Charlemagne, as the champion of civilization and of religion, rushing from the borders of Spain or Italy or Bavaria to the Saxon frontier and back again, with a rapidity which makes us marvel at his resources. Seldom, in this whole time, did he come to a regular battle in the open field with these wild warriors of the forest and the swamp. In almost every

General character of the Saxon war.

campaign it is clear that the uprising was confined to a small part of the Saxon people, and that conquering these only meant that in the next spring a new district might rise in still greater strength. Only a few events have come down to us as faint indications of the sort of people with whom Charlemagne had here to deal.

First campaign, 772.

The first campaign, in the spring of 772, was brought on by an attack of the Saxons upon outlying settlements of the Franks beyond the Rhine, near the modern Hessen. Charlemagne hastened to improve the opportunity, for which he had long been prepared. With a considerable force he passed straight into the Saxon territory, attacked a fortress, the Eresburg, and destroyed it, and then found himself near a religious centre of the Saxon people. This was a shrine of some sort, called the "Irmensäule," probably a high wooden pillar or trunk of a tree, regarded as a sacred object by the people of the neighborhood. The destruction of the Irmensäule was the declaration of war against the religion as well as the nation of the Saxons. It seems to have carried terror to the inhabitants of Westphalia, who sent ambassadors to beg peace of the conqueror, and to promise to abide by his terms. The Franks had not yet learned to distrust their enemies, and believed they had secured at least the western part of the Saxon land. Charlemagne withdrew his troops, and in the following year was called away by the events in Italy which led to the conquest of the Lombards. The story of this first Saxon campaign is pretty nearly the story of all. The resistance seems to have come from only a small part of the population, of course the younger

Destruction of the Irmensäule.

fighting men, while the elders — "Senatus," the chronicles call them — were inclined to peace. This explains what seemed to the Franks the inexcusable treachery of the Saxons. The persons who broke the treaties were seldom those who had made them. The young warriors drew back before the enemy, and hid themselves in distant parts of their own country, or even went as far as the hospitable Danes, to wait until Charlemagne should be called off to some distant part of Europe, when they gathered their forces again for a new attack.

The story of the Saxon campaigns is accompanied, as we might expect from such writers as we have, by a constant series of miraculous narratives, in which the Franks are shown to be under the especial divine protection. At the capture of the Eresburg, the Frankish army is driven to desperation by thirst, when suddenly, at the critical moment, a stream bursts out of the ground and relieves their suffering. After the Franks had gone, leaving only a few garrisons near the border, the heathen gathered their numbers again, and drove one of these garrisons into the church of Fritzlar. The feeble band of Christians seemed to be wholly in their power, and they were advancing in force to burn the building and all its occupants, when suddenly they were aware of two angels in white, floating in the air above the church to defend the helpless garrison. The heathen fled in terror to their woods, and the Christians, coming out of the church, found, kneeling close to the building, a Saxon, holding a torch, and bending as if to blow the flame, but struck lifeless in the act, and stiffened there as a visible witness of the divine protection.

Miraculous legends.

Difficulty of occupation.

It was doubly difficult to make a permanent conquest of an enemy which melted away as soon as it was attacked, and which was always ready to give assurances of peace, without apparently the slightest intention of regarding them in the future. It was not until after several attempts that Charlemagne adopted the policy of leaving in the conquered districts a sufficient garrison to keep them in subjection, and to make them a base of supplies from which further conquest might be attempted. But even this failed. The garrisons were again and again surrounded and compelled to surrender. On one occasion the soldiers of the fortress of Siegburg had gone out to forage for their horses, when a party of Saxons came up with them, and began to talk in so friendly a fashion that the Franks invited them to go back and spend the evening in their camp. At bed-time the hosts and guests lay down together for the night; but the guests had not come to sleep; they drew their daggers from beneath their cloaks, and murdered right and left the unsuspecting Franks. Such outrages called for vengeance. If it had been possible for Charlemagne to do in Saxony what his father had done in Aquitaine, to winter in the country, the end of the Saxon war might have been hastened by many years. But we have to remember the tremendous difficulties of maintaining an army in a country where the small amount of agricultural labor must have been made even smaller by the war. The wonder is that Charlemagne could have prolonged his campaigns as late in the season as he seems sometimes to have done. It was not until the winter

of 785 that he found himself able, for the first time, to keep the army in camp until the following spring.

Growth of Frankish influence, 776.

The campaign of 776 marks an era in the course of the war. It had been more than usually effective, and thousands of the Saxons had come to the camp of the conqueror to receive baptism and to acknowledge his supremacy. Great numbers of Saxon youths had before this been taken by the Franks as hostages, and had been distributed throughout Frankland in various monasteries, and under the care of men who should instruct them in the doctrines of Christianity and in the arts of civilization. Many of these had returned, and it is highly probable that they had begun to exercise an influence upon their fellow-countrymen more potent even than the fear of conquest. One is, of course, inclined to doubt the sincerity of these conversions in mass; but it cannot be concealed that as the war went on there was a steady progress in readiness to accept the Frankish life in place of the ancient forms. And this in spite of the fact that the annual outbreaks were rather gaining than losing in their intensity. One is tempted almost to say, in modern political language, that there was a distinct Frankish party among the Saxons, which gained in strength with every successive defeat of the strict national party.

First Maifeld in Saxony, 777.

After this apparent settlement of the country, Charlemagne came back peacefully in the spring, and for the first time held the great assembly of the Franks on Saxon soil, at Paderborn. As yet we see no trace of any violence against the Saxons as such. They were assured of protection and of

equal treatment before the law, so long as they should remain faithful to the Frankish king. In their turn they promised that land and liberty should be forfeited if they failed in their allegiance.

From Paderborn Charlemagne led his army to the South for a campaign against the Arabs of Spain. Again the Saxon war burst forth. For the first time we see a single leader rallying the forces of the nation about him, and giving by his personal bravery a new character to the revolt. Widukind was a Westphalian nobleman, one of the party most firmly attached to the old order of things, and never yet included in the treaties made by the party of peace. In the spring of 778 he emerges from the obscurity of the North, and rouses the whole Saxon country to furious revenge. All the lands occupied by the Franks were recovered, and their cause seemed lost forever. Charlemagne heard of these events in Southern Gaul, on his return from Spain. He hastily sent forward the troops drawn from the regions nearest the Saxon border, and these were sufficient to drive the enemy back into his retreats. He himself followed in the early spring, and found no serious opposition to his march. At Paderborn he again held the assembly of the Franks for 780. It was perhaps at this meeting that the document was issued which has come down to us under the name of the "Capitulary concerning the Saxon Territory." Evidently Charlemagne considered Saxony as a conquered country, and thought the time had come when he might safely go on with his plans for making it distinctly a part of the Christian Frankish kingdom.

Widukind, 778.

779.

By far the greater part of the laws in this Capitulary have reference to the affairs of the Church. The whole reorganization of Saxon society was to be on the basis of a Christian, a Romish Christian, community. As the armies of Charlemagne had advanced, new centres of church life, abbeys, and bishoprics had been founded; and when they had been permitted for a time to remain undisturbed, had done more to bring parts of the Saxon population into harmony with Frankish ideas than the military garrisons. The object of the new legislation was to give to these clerical foundations the leading part in the work of civilization. The churches are to enjoy the same sanctity which had formerly attached to the shrines of the heathen worship. They are to be asylums for criminals; whoever offends against them or the worship which is to go on in them shall suffer punishments such as were already familiar in the criminal law of the Saxons themselves. The murderer of a clergyman, of whatever rank, shall not be allowed to pay any wergeld, but shall suffer death, and the same penalty shall fall on him who breaks into a church for the purpose of theft, or who sets a church on fire. So human sacrifice and the burning of any person as a witch bring death to the culprit. Whoever tries to avoid baptism and desires to remain a pagan, whoever after the heathen custom burns the bodies of the dead, even those who eat meat during Lent, are worthy of death. Whoever conspires with the heathen against the Christians, or enters into a plot against the king, or breaks his faith with the king, let him die.

The Capitulary, "de partibus Saxoniæ," 780.

These are terrible laws, and they have often brought

the charge of inhuman cruelty upon their author; but we must remember that they were intended to secure the allegiance of a barbarous and but half-conquered people. Furthermore, we cannot understand them without noticing carefully this additional clause: whoever shall be guilty of any of these crimes, and shall then of his own free will confess to a priest and do penance, shall escape the penalty of death. One sees how immensely this provision must have tended to increase the authority of the priest, and thus to further the object which Charlemagne had most at heart. All children were to be baptised within a year; the dead were to be buried in the church-yards, and not in the old burial places of the heathen. No courts of justice or other meetings for temporal affairs were to be held on Sunday. The support of the new churches is to be provided for by grants of land; and above all, every man, no matter what his rank, is to pay one-tenth of his yearly income to the same end.

Severity of the new law.

The administration of all this machinery is to be in the hands of counts (*comites*), at first probably Franks, but later Saxons, who are to live in the several districts, and to be the representatives of the king there. The murderer of a count and all his accomplices are to lose all their property and become the serfs of the king. The count is to preside at the regular judicial assemblies of the people, and they are not to assemble at any other time, unless summoned by the king. The private law of the Saxons is not to be changed. This legislation was only designed to meet the new circumstances of the conquest. Otherwise the people were to live as they had done. Its

Government by "Counts."

chief object was plainly to defend the clergy and the officers of the king in their unwelcome and dangerous task of educating a people up to the Christian standards of public life.

For about two years after the Capitulary of Paderborn things seem to have gone on smoothly enough, at least on the surface. But this enforced submission to the exacting terms of the new religion, above all, to the taxation, to which they were unaccustomed, and which must have been exceedingly oppressive to them, kept alive the old discontent; and when Widukind, in the year 782, set up his banner again, he found plenty of fighting men ready to follow him. A rebellion of the Slavonic tribes between the Elbe and the Saale broke out at the same moment, or was, perhaps, worked up by the Saxon leader as a diversion. A Frankish army, sent against these enemies in the East, was attacked by the Saxons near the Süntel Mountains, and terribly defeated. Charlemagne's blood was up. Hitherto he had been mild, perhaps to a fault. Now his policy must be changed. He moved rapidly at the head of his reserves into Eastphalia, and as usual drove all before him. In a short time the country seemed pacified once more. Charlemagne called an assembly of the Saxons, reminded them of their oaths at Paderborn, and called upon them to hunt out and deliver up to him, as prisoners of war, the rebels who had so shamefully violated their promises. The strength of the Frankish influence in the country was proved by the success of this summons. In a short time forty-five hundred of these warriors, the soul of the Saxon resist

Outbreak of 782.

Massacre at Verden.

ance, were brought to the village of Verden, and handed over to the conqueror. In one day, without judge or jury, these unarmed warriors were murdered in cold blood. This massacre of Verden is the darkest spot upon the fame of Charlemagne. It may, perhaps, be justified by the necessity of the occasion and the greatness of the end he had in view. Evidently he had determined that the Saxon opposition could be broken only by the use of every means of terror. Its best justification, however, is in the fact that it is the only recorded instance of that form of pressure in the long career of Charles. It is inconsistent with his whole policy, both before and afterward, and seems to be its own evidence that he regarded the circumstances as every way exceptional, and therefore as demanding exceptional measures.

782.

The immediate effect was quite the opposite of that which he had expected. The party which had delivered up the warriors had doubtless done so in the belief that they would only be carried off as others had been before them, and settled in the monastery lands of the Franks. The slaughter of Verden reminded them that these victims had after all been their countrymen, and roused them to a share in avenging them. Once more Widukind sweeps down from the North with a great following of allied Northmen, and all Saxony owns him as its leader. All differences seem for the moment to have disappeared, and for the first time, the army which the Franks found opposed to them was truly a national army, fired by the feeling of revenge, and strong in a common hatred of the invader. The first shock took place at Detmold,

The war of vengeance, 783.

near the line of the Weser, and in spite of desperate resistance, the Saxons were driven from their position, and Charles returned to his camp. As soon as he could be ready again, he once more marched against the enemy, now drawn up along the river Hase; and there again, in open battle, the superiority of the Frankish arms was proved. These battles are especially noteworthy, as being the only battles in the open field fought by Charlemagne, in his whole long military career, — a fact which curiously illustrates the character of early mediæval warfare.

Surrender of Widukind, 785.

The next two years were spent in following up the victories of 783. For the first time, in the winter of 784–5, the king wintered on Saxon soil, at Eresburg, and in the spring summoned his General Assembly at Paderborn. At this assembly of 785 the most dangerous man in Saxony, the heroic Widukind, put himself in the hands of the conqueror, and promised allegiance. In the following spring he went back with the army to Attigny, in France, and was there baptized. From that moment he disappears from history; but legend has seized upon him, and has made him the ancestor of the great reigning house of Capet.

Settlement of Saxony.

The settlement of Saxony went on, with occasional military episodes, by the slower, but more certain, processes of education and religious conversion. It appears to us to be anything but wise to force a religion upon a people at the point of the sword; but the singular fact is, that in two generations there was no more truly devout Christian people, according to the standards of the time, than just these same Saxons. A little more than a hundred years from

the time when Charlemagne had thrashed the nation into unwilling acceptance of Frankish control, the crown of the Empire he founded was set upon the head of a Saxon prince.

The "Capitulum Saxonicum," 797.

The progress in friendly relations between the two peoples is seen in the second of the great ordinances by which Saxon affairs were regulated. This edict, called the "*Capitulum Saxonicum*," was published after a great diet at Aachen, in 797, at which, we are told, there came together not only Franks, but also Saxon leaders from all parts of their country, who gave their approval to the new legislation. The general drift of these new laws is in the direction of moderation. The terrible punishments common to the earlier law, and to the traditions of the Saxons themselves, are reduced in number, and are made subject to appeal to the king. The object of this legislation was, now that the armed resistance seemed to be broken, to give the Saxons a government which should be as nearly as possible like that of the Franks. The absolute respect and subjection to the Christian Church is here, as it was formerly, kept always in sight. The churches and monasteries are still to be the centres from which every effort at civilization is to go out.

The Saxon bishoprics.

There can be no doubt that the real agency in this whole process was the organized Church. The fruit of the great alliance between Frankish kingdom and Roman papacy was beginning to be seen. The papacy was ready to sanction any act of her ally for the fair promise of winning the great territory of North Germany to her spiritual allegiance. The most solid result of the campaigns of Charlemagne was

the founding of the great bishopries of **Minden, Paderborn, Verden, Bremen, Osnabrück,** and **Halberstadt.** A line of earnest and devoted men offered themselves for the hard and often dangerous work of maintaining here in the wilderness centres of light and truth. About these bishopries, as, on the whole, the safest places, men came to settle. Roads were built to connect them; markets sprang up in their neighborhood; and thus gradually, during a development of centuries, great cities grew up, which came to be the homes of powerful and wealthy traders, and gave shape to the whole politics of the North. Saxony was become a part of the Frankish Empire, and all the more thoroughly so, because there was no royal or ducal line there which had to be kept in place.

Conquest of Bavaria. — Bavaria was and is the land on both sides of the Danube, at the point where it reaches farthest toward the north, near the city of Regensburg. It had been settled by various German tribes which had remained here after the storms of the migrations, and its population was therefore not of the same unmixed character which we found in Saxony. The land of Bavaria had moreover been partly occupied by Roman settlers, and this had given the new population a tinge of Romanic blood. Roman Christianity had early made progress here, and Boniface, the active agent of Rome, had left in Bavaria a system of monasteries and churches to carry on his work. The state of things there was not unlike that in the Frankish kingdom itself, and this likeness was still further shown in

The land and the people.

The ducal power.

the form of government. Just as in Frankland there had grown up a succession of well-recognized kings, with certain very definite rights of sovereignty, so in Bavaria a ducal power had been developed, which might as well have called itself royal, for all the difference there was in its hold upon the people. This ducal power was in the hands of the great family of the Agilolfings, whose hold on the affections of the people was clearly shown in the events we are about to follow.

Causes of offence.

We have already seen that the kings of the Franks looked with jealousy on the growth of this great independent German nation, close on the borders of Italy, and touching their own territory along the head waters of the river Main. We remember that King Pippin had carried the war into Bavaria, and that the duke **Tassilo**, defeated in battle, had come to Pippin, laid his hands in those of the king and sworn by the mightiest oaths to be his man. Later, however, when Pippin had called him to his help in the Aquitanian war, he had not appeared, and there had not been time for the king to follow up the offence. The early years of Charlemagne's reign were too full of other matters to allow him to return to the question of Bavaria, but when he had conquered the Lombards, and had made such progress in Saxony that he thought the country reasonably safe, he began to consider that here was an obstacle to his complete control of the German races. Bavaria came in like a wedge, between Saxony on the north and Italy on the south. Besides this, there was a line of very dangerous non-German tribes living along the lower Danube, and in order to

hold these in check it was necessary first to have possession of Bavaria. In the year 781 Charlemagne, with the sanction of the pope, sent word to the duke Tassilo that he must renew the oath of vassalage which he he had made to King Pippin. Tassilo consented without opposition and came to the Frankish assembly at Worms, where he took the required oath and gave hostages as security.

But troubles very soon began. The national feeling was strong in Bavaria; the wife of Tassilo was a daughter of Desiderius, king of the Lombards, and sister of Charlemagne's rejected wife, and is said to have made things uncomfortable for the duke, until he declared that he would no longer abide by such conditions as he had made. "If I had ten sons," he cried in his wrath, "I would rather lose them all than let that treaty stand as it is. I would rather die than live thus." Charlemagne heard of this rebellious feeling while he was still in Italy, and laid the matter before his assembly at Worms in the spring of 787. With the approval of his nobles, he sent his son Pippin with an army from Italy, a contingent of Saxon and East-Frankish troops from the North, and advanced himself with a third army from the Rhine. We see in this movement how great was the military advantage to Charlemagne of the conquests he had already made. Tassilo saw at once that resistance was hopeless, and sent to sue for peace. Charlemagne, "by nature unusually gentle," granted his request on condition that he should not only take a new oath of allegiance, but should actually surrender his duchy into the power of the Franks. He

Bavarian campaign of 787.

Surrender of Tassilo, 787.

did this by offering to the king a staff on which the figure of a man was carved, and receiving this staff again as a gift from the hand of Charlemagne. This act meant the end of independent sovereignty in Bavaria. Tassilo returned to his country, but within a year he was, with how much justice we cannot tell, summoned again before the king, and accused of violating his allegiance. The old charge that he had deserted King Pippin in his hour of need was brought up against him, and he was declared guilty of the dreadful crime of "herisliz," or desertion, the most serious known to the ancient law. The penalty of this crime was death, but Charlemagne pardoned Tassilo, and only caused him to have his head shaved, and to be buried alive in a monastery. The same sentence was inflicted upon his wife and son, and thus the house of the Agilolfings made harmless for the future. The government of Bavaria was put into the hands of Frankish counts, and the country formally declared a part of the Frankish kingdom.

794. Only once again does the pathetic figure of Duke Tassilo appear upon the scene. Six years later, at the great Assembly of Frankfort, he is brought out from his retreat, and compelled once more to go through the form of confirming the grant of Bavaria to the Franks.

Value of the Eastern conquests. Thus, without a blow, by a mere show of force, Charlemagne had accomplished his great desire. He had now control over an unbroken line of Germanic peoples, reaching from the Baltic to the Alps, and forming a wall of defence against the countless masses of heathen, Slavs and

Mongols, who were pressing ever harder upon them from the East. The Eastern border of the Frankish land was, roughly speaking, the line of the Elbe and Saale; but neither at this time, nor for centuries later, could this border be definitely described. It was a shifting line, varying with the strength of the forces on either side, but with a constant tendency to move farther and farther backward toward the East, as the Christian powers of the West gained in unity and vigor.

Beginning at the North, we find the Slavonic people of the Abodriti early in alliance with the Franks against the Saxons, and, after the expulsion of the North-Elbe people, allowed by the conqueror to move into the vacated lands. Next them on the South came the Wilzi and the Sorbi, long hostile to the Franks, but gradually, by arms and treaties, brought into a partial subjection, so that they could be, at least a part of the time, counted upon to hold back the tide of barbarian invasion from still farther East. Between these and the Bavarian frontier lay the Bohemians, also a Slavonic race, whose name has remained to this day on the land they occupied. The part played by these border peoples in the building of Europe has not been enough emphasized. The necessity of holding them in subjection caused the Frankish officers who were stationed on the border to be persons of especial importance. The border lands themselves, so far as they were controlled by the Franks, were called "marks," and these officers "counts of the mark" (*markgrafen*). They had to be entrusted with large and permanent armies, and the pros-

The Eastern "Marks."

The "Markgrafen."

pect of almost constant warfare drew to them all the restless fighting men who looked to war as their means of advancing in the world. Furthermore, it was not possible, with safety to the border, to change very often men who had become identified with the interests of the lands they governed; and thus there grew up in these border districts a series of powerful families, who to a great extent came to take the place of the local, ducal powers which Charlemagne had everywhere put down. It was largely through the rise of these powers that the centralized institutions of Charlemagne which we are now studying went to pieces. All this belongs to later history; but we could not really understand the meaning of what Charlemagne was doing without this little glimpse into the future.

The Avars

One of the charges made against the unhappy Tassilo had been that he had joined with one of the most dangerous of these strange peoples against his lord. The Avars were a race probably related to the ancient Huns and to the Hungarians of modern times, as well as to the Finnish peoples of the Baltic shore. They had come into the great plain of the middle Danube, and were, at the time of Charlemagne, pressing hard upon the Bavarian frontier. Whether Tassilo had been in treasonable negotiation with them or not, it is certain that immediately after his deposition they made an attack at the same time upon Bavaria and on the Mark of Friuli to the South. These attacks were repulsed by the Bavarians themselves; but very soon a renewed assault called for the valor of Charlemagne. In the summer of 791 he moved down the Danube, through Bavaria, and encamped on

the river Enns, the boundary between the Bavarians and the Avars. Here, says the chronicle, the army spent three days in prayer for their success, and then declared the war. In a brief campaign they destroyed the defences of the Avars, and wasted their country with fire and sword. Various chieftains of the race sent in their submission, and were accepted as a part of the subjects of the kingdom of the Franks. It will be noticed here that no effort was made to Christianize the conquered people by any such process as had been applied in Saxony. The way was, it is true, opened for Christian missionaries to carry on their work in comparative safety; but it is very evident that Charles did not feel himself called upon to make this a main object with any other peoples than those of Germanic blood.

conquered by Charlemagne, 791.

In this same connection we may notice that very considerable territories along the East of Bavaria and Northern Italy, the countries of Istria and Dalmatia, submitted voluntarily to the control of Charlemagne, but upon the demand of the Eastern Empire were later readily given up to it without compensation. It seems clear that Charlemagne did not wish to get all he could and to keep all he got, but that his ambition was limited to the lands of Germanic races, over all of whom he proposed to fix his sovereignty and that of the Roman Church by a title that should never be questioned.

The Spanish Mark. — The same facts seem to be illustrated by his treatment of the North of Spain. At the first assembly of the Franks on Saxon soil in

the year 777 at Paderborn, ambassadors of certain Arab chiefs had come from Spain and offered to Charles the sovereignty of their lands if he would support them in their political troubles with the Mohammedan Caliph of Cordova.

This northern part of Spain was quite as much Germanic land as the South of Gaul. It had been for generations under the control of the West-Goths until the Arab invasion of the early part of the eighth century had broken their sovereignty, though it had probably not very much changed the character of the population. Charlemagne therefore saw in a Spanish expedition the opportunity to set free from the oppression of heathen rulers a race once thoroughly Christian and German. In the following spring he set out with a great army through Aquitaine and Gascony, and advanced over the Pyrenees as far as Saragossa, beyond the Ebro. He seems to have met with little resistance, but, for reasons we cannot understand, he determined to make no further advance, and began his retreat. In the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees he established Frankish garrisons, and organized the administration as he had done elsewhere. In the passage of the mountains, at the famous pass of **Roncesvalles**, his rear-guard was attacked by Gascon guerillas and thrown into utter rout. One of the chronicles says, "In this battle **Roland**, count of Brittany, was slain," and that is all the historical record we have of a man whose name has been taken up by legend, and made more famous, perhaps, than any other of the day, excepting that of the great king himself. The permanent result of the Spanish expedition was that the

The Pass of Roncesvalles.

whole North of Spain became subject to Frankish control under the name of the Spanish Mark. This was the first step in the process of recovering the soil of Spain from the hated Moor, which lasted down into the fifteenth century, and ended with that Conquest of Granada, which our own Irving has so eloquently described.

CHAPTER XIV.

FOUNDATION OF THE MEDIÆVAL EMPIRE.

AUTHORITIES:— As above for Chapter XIII.
MODERN WORKS:—James Bryce: The Holy Roman Empire.—Milman; Greenwood; The Church Histories.

WE have thus far been considering Charlemagne as the head of the Frankish nation. He was, by consent of the people, king of the Franks. He had won his victories with Frankish arms, and he had taken possession of the conquered countries in the name of the Frankish people. Every step which he had taken had been with the advice and consent of the nation assembled in the great meetings of the springtime, and his public documents carefully express the share of the nation in his great achievements. Saxony, Bavaria, Lombardy, Aquitaine, the Spanish Mark, all these great countries, lying outside the territory of Frankland proper, had been made a part of its possession by the might of his arm and the wisdom of his counsel. But when this had all been done, the question arose, by what right he should hold all this power, and secure it so that it should not fall apart as soon as he should be gone. As king of the Franks it was impossible that he should not seem to the conquered peoples, however mild and beneficent his rule might be, a foreign prince; and though he might be able to force them to follow

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5
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Trent
Lincoln
Severn
Thames
CANTERBURY
50
Torouanne
Liege
c. 700
Corbei
Cambrai
510
Stal
Fontaine
Beauvais
Noyon
S. Quentin
Laon
Bayeux
Lisieux
LOUEN
Seine
Senlis
Soissons
RHEIMS
Coutances
Seez
Evreux
S. Denis
Verdun
Avenay
Avranches
Paris
Meaux
Châlons
Marne
Rennes
Troyes
Vannes
Le Mans
Orleans
Sens
Angers
Florac
Langres
Nantes
TOURS
Loire
Cher
Flavigny
BOURGES
Nevers
Poitiers
Autun
S. Maxentius
Châlons
Macon
Saintonge
Limoges
Menate
Allier
Saone
45
Angoulême
LYONS
Brantôme
VIENNE
Perigueux
BORDEAUX
Dordogne
Valence
Cahors
Garonne
Moissac
Rodez
Orange
Rhone
Adour
Albi
Nismes
Carpe
Auch
Toulouse
ARLES
Bigorre
Pampeluna
Carcassone
Narbonne
Mars
Ebro
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Barcelona
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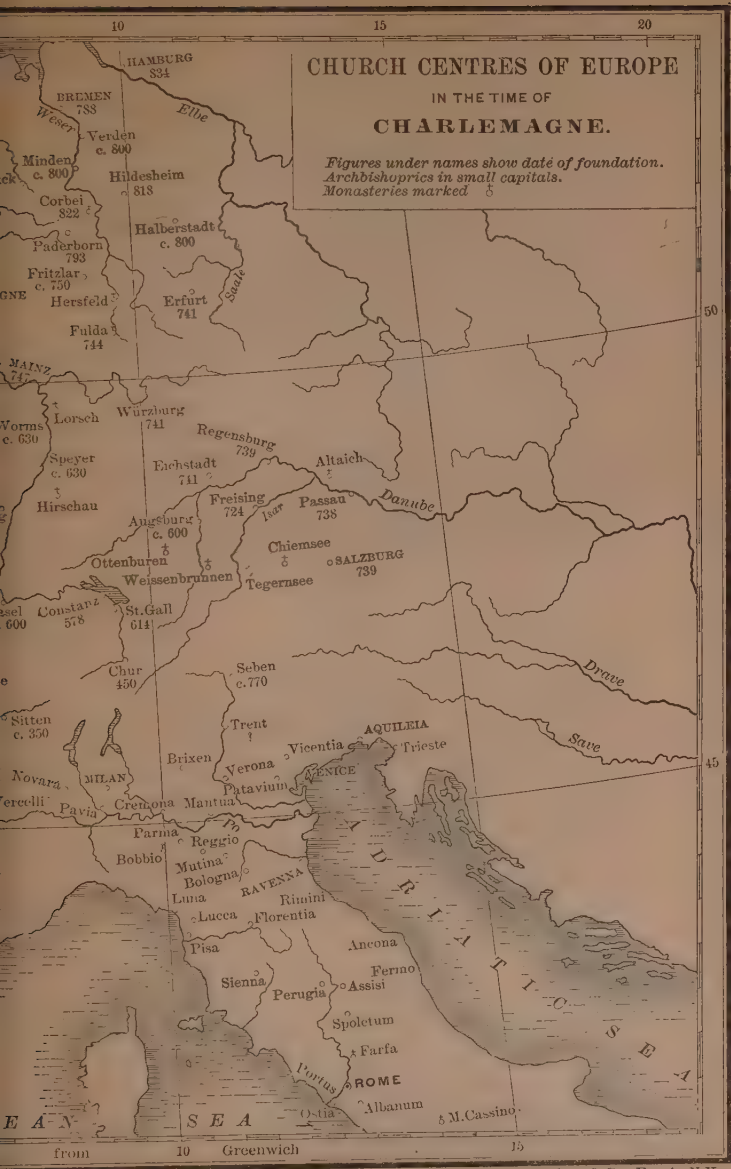

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his banner in war, and submit to his judgment in peace, there was still wanting the one common interest which should bind all these peoples, strangers to the Franks and to each other, into one united nation.

About the year 800 this problem seems to have been very much before the mind of Charlemagne. If we look at the boundaries of his kingdom, reaching from the Eider in the north to the Ebro and the Garigliano in the south, and from the ocean in the west to the Elbe and the Enns in the east, we shall say as the people of his own time did, "this power is **Imperial**." That word may mean little to us, but in fact it has often in history been used to describe just the kind of power which Charlemagne in the year 800 really had, a power of great extent, and held over peoples so different in race and political tradition that they could only be kept together by some single rule which was large enough to include, without destroying, all their inherited governments. The idea of empire includes under this one term, kingdoms, duchies, or whatever powers might be in existence; all, however, subject to some one higher force, which they feel to be necessary for their support. To-day, for instance, there is the Empire of Germany, formed in the year 1870, and including the kingdoms of Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Wuertemberg, the Grand-duchy of Baden, Grand-duchies of Mecklenburg, and many other independent governments. So, ever since the great expansion of England, many persons like to talk about the British Empire, because England has the rule over so many different and widely scattered races.

Charlemagne's power "imperial."

But where was the model upon which Charlemagne

might build his new empire? Surely nowhere but in that great Roman Empire whose western representative had been finally allowed to disappear by Odoacer the Herulian in the year 476. We saw that after Odoacer the Eastern Empire, with its capital at Constantinople, still lived on, and claimed for itself all the rights which had belonged to both parts. That Eastern Empire was still alive at the time of Charlemagne. We have met with it once or twice in our study of the Franks. Even Clovis had been tickled with the present of the title of Consul, sent him by the Eastern Emperor; and from time to time, as the Franks had meddled with the affairs of Italy, they had been reminded that Italy was in name still a part of the Imperial lands.[1] We remember that it was because of the weakness of the Empire in Italy that the papacy had been obliged to call upon the Franks for help. The feeble protest of the Emperors had had no effect whatever upon the determined men who had made up their minds to make the Frankish power so useful to the popes that they could not get on without it.

His model.

But now, when Charlemagne himself was thinking of taking the title of Emperor, he found himself forced to meet squarely the question, whether there could be two independent Christian Emperors at the same time. One way out of this problem would have been by a union of the two in one hand, and such seems to have been the object of

Could there be two Roman Emperors?

[1] The relation of all the Germanic conquerors, from Alaric to Alboin, toward the government of the Empire seems to have been one of practical independence, no matter how carefully guarded by the pretence of alliance, subjection, or employment.

negotiations, which had for some time been going on between the two courts, for a marriage between the king of the Franks and Irene, the Empress of the East. We have only one mention of this business, and it seems to be so out of harmony with the policy of Charlemagne in other respects, that we may well doubt whether he had any very serious intentions upon the crown of the East. Probably later events served to magnify matters which would otherwise have attracted little notice. The solution was to be a very different one.

Coronation of Charlemagne, 800.

On Christmas Day, in the year 800, Charlemagne was at Rome. He had gone thither at the request of the Pope Leo, who had been accused of dreadful crimes by his enemies in the city, and had been for a time deprived of his office. Charlemagne had acted as judge in the case, and had decided in favor of Leo. According to good Teutonic custom, the pope had purified himself of his charges by a tremendous oath on the Holy Trinity, and had again assumed the duties of the papacy. The Christmas service was held in great state at St. Peter's. While Charlemagne was kneeling in prayer at the grave of the Apostle, the pope suddenly approached him, and in the presence of all the people, placed upon his head a golden crown. As he did so, the people cried out with one voice, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, the mighty Emperor, the Peace-bringer, crowned by God!" Einhard, who ought to have known, assures us that Charles was totally surprised by the coronation, and often said afterward that if he had known of the plan he would not have gone into the church, even

upon so high a festival. It is altogether probable that the king had not meant to be crowned at just that moment and in just that way; but that he had never thought of such a possibility seems utterly incredible.

Foundation of the new Empire.

By this act Charlemagne was presented to the world as the successor of the ancient Roman Emperors of the West, and so far as power was concerned, he was that. But he was more. His power rested, not upon any inherited ideas, but upon two great facts: first, he was the head of the **Germanic Race**; and second, he was the temporal head of the **Christian Church**. The new empire which he founded rested on these two foundations. He was a German, every inch of him, and yet he was called upon to do a thing which was against every instinct of the ancient Germanic liberty. It is this conflict of two aims in the work of Charlemagne which has made among scholars so much contention as to his real ideas of government. Some have declared that he was a thorough Roman, feeling himself to be the successor of the Cæsars, and trying to make his rule as much like theirs as possible; others have said that he was a pure German, and wished to make Germanic ideas alone the basis of the new empire. Both these views are wrong, because they both go too far. Like every other leader of men, Charlemagne had to work with the materials and the tools which he found ready for him. His material was the Germanic race, as he found it, mingled with the remnants of Romanized people in the South, or preserved in all its unspoiled purity of blood and tradition in the North. Now, up to his time there had

It rested on both Romanic and Germanic traditions.

never been a great united Germanic government. It seemed to be just as much in the nature of Germans to live in scattered and independent groups as it was in the nature of Romans to unite under one great government. This tendency to break up into little states, and to grow weaker all the time by internal warfare, was the chief evil which Charlemagne had to meet; and he met it by calling in the help of the other great tradition, whose memory was still kept alive in Europe — the tradition of Rome. So that, when we look at some of his acts, it seems as if his interest were wholly in preserving German institutions; and when we look at others, he seems to be trying to follow Roman models as closely as possible.

Centralizing institutions.

We shall understand these matters better by examining some of the arrangements for the government of his great empire, which were made in the years between 800 and 814. Almost the first act of the new emperor was to demand from every man in the Empire an oath of allegiance to him *as emperor*, which should take the place of all other oaths formerly sworn to him as king, and should be superior to all other bonds of faith to any other person whomsoever. Thus every man was to feel himself in a personal relation to the Emperor. The officers of the Emperor, to carry out this intention, were the counts whom we have already met. In the northern Germanic countries the counts were placed over considerable districts, the former cantons (*gaue*) of the tribes. In the more southern Romanic countries they were made governors of cities. But wherever they were, they were the hand and voice of the king. What-

The counts.

ever they did was done in his name, and no local interest could be allowed to stand in the way of their action. We should expect to find great resistance to officers so entirely in opposition to the ancient usages of the conquered races; but the fear of Charlemagne's arms and the advantage of his protection seem to have been great enough to secure him a very large share of popular devotion. The great danger was that his own officers, by staying a long time in one region, would become attached to the people there, and would try to set up for themselves an independent government. If we consider how hard it was to get from Aachen or Ingelheim to the borders of Saxony or Bavaria, we can understand that a count in these distant parts might go very far on the road to treason before he could be discovered and punished. This danger became evident to Charlemagne pretty early in his course, and he tried to meet it by an arrangement which was quite new to Germanic ideas, and which was perhaps the most famous of his whole administration. The trouble with the counts was the fixedness of their position in a certain territory. It would have been possible for the king to appoint them for a year only, and then put them in some other place; but this would have been a loss of power in other ways, and so, instead of changing the counts about, he made another set of officers, whose business it was to travel over the whole empire, and see to it that the counts were carrying on their work properly. These officers were called "*Missi dominici*," the king's messengers. They were generally sent out in pairs, a bishop and a count together, and their duty was to examine into all the

The "Missi Dominici."

affairs of government, the administration of justice, the equipment of the army, the maintenance of churches and schools, the collection of taxes; in short, all that the emperor himself would have looked out for if he had been able to be in every part of his great empire at once. Then they were to come back and make a report of all they had done. You will see that the effect of this must have been, as that of the common oath was, to make every man feel himself in close relations with the Emperor, almost as if he had been immediately under his eye.

Decline of the "Missi."

We have enough documents of the time to show us that these officers were really for a time what they were meant to be, the eyes of the Emperor. Later, when the dangerous tendencies we have noticed had begun to make themselves felt, the first sign was in the gradual falling away of the institution of the lord's messengers, until they entirely disappear. It must not be supposed, however, that these acts of Charlemagne were done in the spirit of an irresponsible tyrant. On the contrary, we are assured at every step that he acted with the support of his people, and more especially in harmony with the Church. This harmony with the nation and the Church was kept up by the system of yearly assemblies, to which we have often referred. These assemblies were generally two, one in the spring or summer, usually called the Maifeld (Field of May), and one in the autumn. These were not, in our sense of the word, representative bodies, for there was nothing like an election to them, such as we have for our legislatures, but every freeman had the right to appear and have his say there.

The yearly assemblies.

It would be impossible to tell anywhere nearly how many freemen of the Franks took advantage of this right; but from the fact that very often the assembly, having determined upon war, simply broke up and went to fight the war for itself, we may conclude that often, at least, pretty nearly the whole available fighting force of the nation came to discuss the great matters of common interest. At other times, when war was not immediately threatening, we suppose that only the leading men came to these meetings; but that did not make the decisions any the less binding on the whole nation.

The assemblies also councils.

These same assemblies were also councils of the Church. There can be no doubt that Charlemagne, while feeling himself the servant of the Church, believed that he could serve it best by governing it. We come here to a question which proved to be one of the most important for the future of Europe. What sort of mutual rights and duties were founded by the coronation of Charles as a Roman Emperor? Did the fact that the pope had crowned him give to the pope a right of control over his actions, on the principle that he who gives the authority is greater than he who receives it? Or, on the other hand, was Charles by the coronation placed above all other powers, above the pope as well as the rest? Furthermore, what were the rights of the pope as head of the Christian Church, over the clergy of the Empire? Could he appoint and remove bishops? Could he hear their appeals from the decisions of their local councils, or should such appeals come to the Emperor? All these were questions which probably no one

Questions between Empire and Papacy.

thought of at the time, but which in the course of a century had come to be asked and answered with the greatest violence of feeling on both sides. There was not a country of Europe in the later Middle Ages which did not suffer long and bitter struggles before these consequences of the coronation of Charlemagne came to a final settlement. If the papacy had the rights we have suggested, then all the powers of the states of Europe over their own lands and their own subjects were in danger. Let us see how Charles himself looked at this problem. There can be little doubt that his devotion to the Church was as far as possible from a slavish subserviency to it. At the great assemblies of the Frankish clergy he presided. The summons to them went out in his name, and the decisions were signed and sanctioned by him. Just as in the year 325 we saw the Emperor Constantine summoning the doctors of the Church to Nicæa, presiding over their discussions, and urging them to make a decision which should settle once for all the question as to the true doctrine of the Trinity, so in the year 794 we see Charlemagne calling upon the alleged heretic, the bishop Felix of Urgella in Spain, to appear before the great Assembly at Frankfort and defend his doctrine.

Charles head of the Frankish Church.

At this same council he gave a new proof of his independence in regard to the great question of the worship of images (the "iconoclastic" controversy). A council almost wholly composed of Eastern bishops had been held at Nicæa in 787 and had passed very strong resolutions in favor of using images in the churches, not merely for ornament, but

Independence at Frankfort, 794.

for adoration. The Pope Hadrian promptly ratified these decrees, and sent them with his approval to Charlemagne. In reply the king published a document which has become famous under the name of the "Libri Carolini." This document, prepared by Frankish clergymen at the direction of the king, takes ground on the question of images directly opposed to the pope, and in language bordering upon disrespect, declares the views of the late Nicene council, which the pope had just approved, to be false and pernicious. The king forbids his Frankish subjects to show to the sacred images any form of worship or service whatever, and this opinion was confirmed at the council of Frankfort. The pope found it convenient not to enter into any quarrel with the Frankish Church, but to trim his sails between the breezes from the East and West as wisely as he might. Again, in the year 806, when men were debating the serious problem of the "procession of the Holy Ghost," the question which more than any other divided the Greek Church from the Roman, we see the Emperor calling another great council at Aachen and settling this point forever, as far as the church of his empire was concerned.

Appoints clergy.

And when we look at the every-day matters of the Church in Frankland, we see him equally prompt and decided. The appointment of bishops went through his hands, though, in some cases at least, the consecration to office was performed at his request by the pope. Over and over again we hear of him making every possible effort to keep the clergy up to a high standard of learning and virtue, and a hard time he had of it. When it came to his

knowledge that very many of the Frankish clergy could not read the services they repeated by rote, he determined that this evil should be stopped, and sent to urge upon the heads of churches and monasteries everywhere to establish schools, and to see to it that the youth of their districts should be kept under instruction until a learned ministry should be provided.

Enforces education.

We have seen that efforts were made in the time of Charles Martel and Pippin, especially under the direction of Boniface, to organize the Frankish churches into a firm and compact body, dependent upon Rome as its sovereign head. In spite of these efforts we see clearly from the legislation of Charlemagne that there was not yet very much of fixedness in these matters. The separate churches were going each its own way without any regular subjection to any higher clerical power. The key to the problem seemed to be to fix on certain of the larger churches as archbishoprics, and give them authority over a fixed number of bishoprics, then to strengthen in every way the hold of the bishop over the churches in his diocese, and thus to provide a complete system of orders by which the lowest clergyman was bound to the head of the Church. In cases of difficulty there would then be a perfectly clear line of appeal from the bishop to the archbishop, then to the provincial synod, and so to the king. This fixed order in the Church corresponded, we see, to Charlemagne's plan for the State. It was a monarchical system designed to bring the power of the king close to every clergyman just as the new plans for government were designed to bring every subject layman into close connection with the royal will.

Closer Church organization.

The great archbishoprics.

It was in this way that the great archbishoprics, of **Mainz** for the Main valley and Eastern Saxony, of **Cologne** for the lower Rhine country and Western Saxony, of **Treves** for Gaul, and of **Salzburg** for Bavaria were organized. Henceforth there was to be no doubt where every church in the Frankish empire was to look for guidance and instruction in all matters pertaining to its varied interests. These archbishoprics continued for centuries to be the centres of the church life of the North. Their holders became princes of the empire, with sometimes more than princely revenues and powers. As the country became more settled, new archbishoprics were gradually created and supplied with lands, usually at the expense of the older foundations. Thus **Hamburg Bremen** in the far North, **Magdeburg** in Saxony, **Prague** in Bohemia, rose to be equally important with the older seats.

The monasteries independent.

There was, however, one very marked exception to the general purpose of these plans. We have seen already how hard it was to keep the monasteries in subjection to the bishops of the dioceses in which the monasteries might be placed. This difficulty seems to have been too much for Charlemagne. At all events, he gave so many and so great privileges to the monasteries in all parts of his kingdom, that they were thus made practically independent sovereigns over their lands, and also in the management of their internal affairs. It would not be unusual for an abbot in the later time of Charlemagne to have from twenty to forty thousand subjects living on the lands of his monastery. The bishops struggled and

protested, but the monasteries proved to be such a convenient balance to the too great powers of the bishops, that neither pope nor king could afford to lose their support, and the question thus started became one of the most bitter throughout the whole of the Middle Ages.

Respect for the clergy.

The respect due from laymen to clergymen was impressed by every possible means. The wergeld of the bishop was one-half higher than that of the count, whose social equal he was. Gifts of lands and privileges were showered upon the clergy with the utmost liberality. They were the advisers of the court, the friends and daily companions of the king. The point to be especially borne in mind is that this duty to the Church was, in the plan of Charlemagne, the duty which a man owes to a great trust, not the duty which a servant owes to his master. If we can clearly understand this, it will clear up for us many of the darkest places in the history of the Middle Ages.

Charles' care for literature.

The quality of the literature in the time of Charlemagne is the proof that there was then going on a revival of interest in the study of the classical authors, and, indeed, of all that made up the learning of that day. During the Merovingian period the Frankish people had been too busy with the immediate demands of their new life to have time or interest for the things of the intellect. It had been a time of tremendous physical effort in the making of new states out of the ruins of the old civilization. The ancient Roman education had probably never been entirely exterminated,

Roman schools.

at least in those countries where it had taken firmest root. Probably there never was a time when learned men had not continued, here and there, in obscurity and neglect, to carry on the traditions of a better time. But these feeble lights had not shone beyond their own immediate surroundings, and we do not know even the names or the homes of these forgotten scholars. Learning cannot prosper until it is made respectable, and the only respectable thing for the Merovingian Frank to do was to fight. Even the monasteries were not, as we have seen, originally intended as homes of learning, and there were those who thought it a dangerous sign of the times when those who had vowed their lives to God began to take up the study of the heathen authors. But as society began to be a little more orderly after the horrible civil strife of the descendants of Clovis, and especially when the majors domus of the house of Pippin began to make themselves felt as a new force working for order and union, then the first-fruits of better government began to show themselves in the form of a revived learning. It has always been reckoned one of the highest traits of the genius of Charlemagne, that, in the midst of the multitudinous duties of warfare and legislation, he never forgot these higher and deeper interests of the intellect. In directing the bishops and abbots of the Empire to establish schools for the youth of their neighborhoods, he set them a brilliant example by gathering together a group of teachers at his own court, and opening there a school where the youth of noble family might get the very best instruction the

Monastery schools.

The "Scola Palatina."

day afforded.[1] **Einhard**, the author of the "Life of Charlemagne," was his secretary and intimate friend, was even made by legend to marry a daughter of the Emperor. **Alcuin** was an Englishman, the foremost scholar of his day. Charlemagne found him in Italy, and persuaded him to come to his court, where he became the head of the court-school, and had the widest influence upon the culture of the generation. **Paul the Deacon** was a Lombard, and at the suggestion of Charlemagne wrote at great length the history of the

[1] The Monk of St. Gall thus describes the interest which the Emperor took in his schools:—

"When the victorious Karl, after a long absence, returned to Gaul, he sent for the boys whom he had intrusted to Clement, and bade them show him their compositions and poems. The boys of low and middle station brought him theirs sweetened beyond all expectation with every charm of wisdom, but the high-born showed only quite poor and useless stuff. Then Karl, the wise king, followed the example of the eternal Judge, placed the good workers upon his right hand, and spoke to them as follows: 'Many thanks, my sons, that you have taken such pains to carry out my orders to the best of your ability and to your own profit. Try now to reach perfection, and I will give you splendid bishoprics and monasteries, and you shall be highly honored in my sight.'

"Thereupon he turned his face in wrath against those upon his left, smote their consciences with his fiery glance, and burst out with terrible scorn, more thundering than speaking, in these words: 'You high-born sons of princes, you pretty and dainty little gentlemen, who count upon your birth and your wealth, you have disregarded my orders and your own reputations, have neglected your studies, and spent your time in high living, in games and idleness, or in idle occupations.' Then he raised his majestic head and his threatening right hand to heaven and cried in a voice of thunder with his usual oath, 'By the Lord of Heaven, I care little for your noble birth and your pretty looks, though others think them so fine; and let me promise you this: if you do not make haste to make good your former neglect by careful diligence, never think to get any favors from Karl.'"

Lombard nation. **Angilbert** and **Theodulf** were poets, who have left us the best specimens of what men were able in that day to do in imitation of the literary art of Rome.

The literature an imitation.

For after all, this literature was all an imitation. There can be little doubt that the Germans in the time of Charlemagne had a great poetic literature of their own, not put in writing, but sung from mouth to mouth. It was no doubt all about their gods and heroes, a wild, tremendous epic, wanting only the grace and beauty to be equal to the mythology of Greece. One cannot help wondering what would have come of it if a new Ulfilas had arisen among the Franks, to take their rude language and give it a written form. Or if the Saxons had conquered in the great struggle with the Franks, and out of that conquest a national enthusiasm had been kindled which should have taken just enough of the learning of Rome to give form to their tradition without taking the life out of it, we might perhaps have seen a development in the North of Europe which should compare favorably with that of Greece itself.

Latin Christianity checks German development.

All this was checked by the victory of Roman Christianity. The language of Rome had a virtue which made even the heathen authors who had written its masterpieces indispensable to all teaching. So that when a new education came to grow up on the basis of this Roman-Christian culture, it found itself bound to the Latin language as its only model and its only vehicle of expression. Any attempt to revive the ancient language, even for the expression of Christian ideas would have seemed

dangerous to the eager missionaries who wished to keep Rome and all that was Roman as much as possible before the minds of the barbarians. The simple fact that the worship of the Church was all cast in Latin forms would be enough of itself to explain why men turned with a blind readiness to the classic authors for their models and spent the best years of their lives in learning a language which they could never speak or write with perfect ease or correctness.

Charles' Germanic sympathies.

Yet Charlemagne himself, with all his Roman tendencies, seems to have had a very quick sympathy with all that was best in the national life. He caused the legends of the Germanic peoples to be collected, but what use he made of this collection we do not know; it has disappeared. He did the same with the laws of the tribes, and as these were actually necessary for the daily use of the courts, they were preserved, and have come down to us in a very complete form. Einhard especially praises in his hero that he wore by preference the ancient dress of the Franks, and only donned the more elegant garments of the Romans on special occasions. But these seem to have been only the expressions of a sentiment which did not find its way into the more important matters of administration. For instance, Charlemagne ordered that all priests should teach their people the creed and the Lord's prayer in the common tongue as well as in Latin, and had translations made of considerable parts of the Bible; but we see no hint that he would for a moment have thought of putting the German in place of the Latin. Precisely at this point, where alone such an influence might have been successful, he showed himself to be wholly in the drift of the Roman policy.

Yet Roman culture prevails.

Enough of what Charlemagne did not do or might have done. What he did do was to set in motion an impulse which gave the character to the whole mediæval education. For nearly five hundred years after his time almost all that was written by learned men in Europe was written in Latin. And the result was that the learned productions of that time were probably worth less to the world than what was produced in any other period of equal length since civilization began. Men can only produce things worth having when they act themselves, and they cannot act themselves when they are tied down to a language which is not the language of their daily and hourly thoughts. It is not a question of one language being better than another. The excellence of any language depends upon the thoughts to be conveyed, and it will change its forms to fit itself to those thoughts. There can be no language for a people so good as its own, and yet the best product of the Middle Ages, the songs which grew out of the heart of the people, were looked upon with little interest, if not with positive disfavor, by the learned classes.

Not until **Dante** in Italy, and **Chaucer** in England, do we find a vigorous reaction against the exclusively Latin education which the schools of Charlemagne fastened upon Europe.

Military Affairs. — In studying the career of Charlemagne, one wonders continually that he should have been able to command so thoroughly the resources of his great empire. Much had been done for him by the energy of his father and grandfather, but, when we con-

sider that in a reign of nearly fifty years there was scarcely a year in which some sort of fighting was not going on, and that in a given year there was often a call for two or three armies in the field at the same time; further, that, even in time of peace, the conquered territory had to be defended by the constant presence of armed men, our wonder grows that there should have been on the whole so little opposition to these enormous undertakings.

The military system of Charlemagne is very clearly outlined in his capitularies. It is important for us to study it with some care, because it was, by the very pressure of constant warfare, being gradually changed into another system, which was to be the most peculiar feature of mediæval life. The "**heerban**" system of Charlemagne was to give way to the "**feudal**" system under his successors. The basis of the heerban system was the duty of every fighting man to answer directly the call of the king to arms. The freeman, not only of the Franks, but of all the subject peoples, owed military service to the king alone. This duty is insisted upon in the laws of Charlemagne with constant repetition. The summons (heerban) was issued at the spring meeting, and sent out by the counts or *missi*. The soldier was obliged to present himself at the given time, fully armed and equipped with all provision for the campaign, except fire, water, and fodder for the horses. During service, the soldier bore a sort of sacred character. His wergeld was for the time tripled. An offender against a soldier was to be kept in prison until the soldier returned. On the other hand, the soldier himself was forbidden by strict laws

The "Heerban."

from committing any violence by the way. No stealing, brawling, or drinking were to disgrace the passage of the royal army.

Burden of military service.

For a time we may believe that the mere desire for glory and the fame of their great leader may have been motive enough for men to answer willingly to such demands. But when the same call was made year after year, when the dweller by the Rhine found himself marched away to the borders of Spain or Italy, and the Aquitanian was carried into service on the Saxon frontier, where neither glory nor booty was to be had, then the burden became so great that men tried in every way to escape from it. Of course, there was always an element of the people, the higher classes, whose power rested wholly on military fame, who were ready to keep themselves always in the field, and who looked for their support to the multitude of their peasants at home. But there was another class, the backbone of the nation after all, upon whom this burden fell with crushing weight.

The freemen try to avoid it.

These were the small free landholders. Their most precious possession, their personal liberty, was at the same time their greatest danger. The capitularies show us the devices by which these small landholders were trying to escape the consequences of liberty and to secure the comparative comfort of half servitude. If a man put his property out of his hands and into those of another, this should not excuse him from service. Gradually, however, it seems to have become clear that the heerban, in its complete form, could not be enforced, and we see modifications of it, so that several freemen might unite

in equipping one soldier. The burden of equipment was further lightened in proportion to distance from the seat of war. But these relaxations of severity did not suffice. Even during the life of Charlemagne we can see very plainly that the "feudal" form of service was becoming more and more necessary to secure effective armies. After his death its progress is still more rapid, and it was destined within two generations completely to revolutionize the life of the Germanic and Romanic populations of Europe.

The "feudal" service increases.

CHAPTER XV.

BEGINNINGS OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.[1]

AUTHORITIES: — The *Leges Barbarorum.* Formulæ and Capitularies as in Chap. VIII.

MODERN WORKS: — G. Waitz: Anfänge der Vassalität, Göttingen. Anfänge des Lehnswesens, Hist. Zeitsch. XIII. 1865. Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte, esp. Vols. II. III. and IV.

Paul Roth: Geschichte des Beneficialwesens, 1850. Feudalität und Unterthanenverband, 1863.

H. Brunner: Die Landverleihungen der Merovinger und Karolinger. Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie, 1885.

F. de Coulanges: Les Origines du régime féodal. Rev. d. deux mondes, 1872–74.

A neat short statement of the Feudal principles is given in Myers' Mediæval and Modern History, and an excellent summary of the controversy as to origins in E. B. Andrews' Institutes of General History, 1887.

IF we would understand ever so little of the life of the Middle Ages, we shall have to know something about an institution which for a thousand years was th most important element in the politics and in the socia relations of the European peoples.

[1] Hardly any point in the whole history of European institutions ha been the subject of so violent controversy as this of the origin of Feu dalism. It was formerly supposed that Feudalism was only a somewha more developed form of the ancient Germanic "following" transplante to Roman soil, but a more critical examination of the documents of th early period soon showed that there was more to it than this. It becam evident that Feudalism was not so simple as had at first appeared, bu

We might almost describe the condition of civilization among any people by telling first how great a value they set upon the private possession of land. A half-savage race, living by hunting, fishing, and grazing, with perhaps only so much agriculture as will serve to help out the product of the chase, needs a great deal of land in proportion to its numbers. If men at this stage live too closely together, game will soon get so scarce in their neighborhood that they can no longer live on it. They must have great forests and wide plains, where the animals are left long enough to themselves so that they will increase and not be frightened away. It would never do for men living this kind of life to try to mark off the

Value of landed property.

for it was made up of the various elements mentioned in our text. When, however, scholars had come to see this, they then found themselves at variance upon the details of the process by which the popular monarchical arrangements of the early Franks were converted into the aristocratic forms of the later Feudalism. While they agreed upon the essential fact that the Germans, at the time of their emergence from their original seats and their occupation of the Roman lands, were not mere wandering groups of freebooters, as the earlier school had represented them, but well-organized nations, with a very distinct sense of political organization, they found themselves hopelessly divided on the question how this national life had, in the course of time, come to assume forms so very different from those of the primitive German.

The first person to present what we may call the modern view of the feudal system was Georg Waitz, in the first edition of his History of the German Constitution, in the years 1844–47. Waitz presented the system as a thing of gradual growth during several centuries, the various elements of which it was composed growing up side by side without definite chronological sequence. This view was met by Paul Roth in his History of the Institution of the Benefice, in the year 1850. He maintained that royal benefices were unknown to the Merovingian Franks, and that they were an innovation of the earliest Carolingians. They were, so he believed, made possible by a grand confiscation of the

land into pieces, one for each man or each family. It has always seemed better for them to have a common ownership in at least so much of the land as was used for hunting, and generally even in that used for grazing.

Germans learn to value land.

Now we have already seen that this was about the condition of the ancient Germans when they moved on to the Roman soil. They were a nation of hunters and fighters, with only a very little agriculture. It was natural, therefore, that they should not set a very high value on farming land, and should not have thought very much about private ownership in land. But when they had seized upon the lands of Rome, they found a race already used to living by the produce of the soil. In course of time they

lands of the Church, not by Charles Martel, as the earlier writers had believed, but by his sons, Pippin and Karlmann.

This first book of Roth was followed in the year 1850 by another on Feudalism and the Relation of the Subject to the State (Feudalität und Unterthanenverband), in which he attempted to show that the direct subjection of the individual to the government was not a strange idea to the early German, but that it pervaded all forms of Germanic life down to the Carolingian times, and that therefore the feudal relation was a something entirely new, a break in the practice of the Germans. In the years 1880–1885 appeared a new edition of Waitz' History of the German Constitution, in which, after acknowledging the great services rendered by Roth to the cause of learning, he declares himself unable to give up his former point of view, and brings new evidence in support of it. Thus for more than thirty years this question has been before the world of scholars, and may be regarded as being quite as far from a settlement as ever. An American student may, therefore, be pardoned if he does not attempt to take violent sides in so difficult a controversy. I have examined the arguments of both parties with considerable care, and though I should be far from believing that I had attained to certainty on the subject, I am much more inclined to the conclusions of Waitz than to those of his opponents. Certainly the spirit in which he has conducted his side of the controversy must com-

themselves came to change their ways of life. Whenever the population of a country gets pretty thick, the life of the forest must always change to the life of the fields, which means that men come to have an interest in the soil for its own sake. They value it for what it will produce; and though men have often gone on for a long time with some form or other of common ownership, still when anything comes to have great value it has always been in the nature of men to want a part of this valuable thing for themselves. In other words, as men have grown more civilized, private ownership of land has always tended to replace the ownership by the state.

The Germans had been going through this change in

mand the respect of every fair-minded scholar. He admits frankly that the material is very meagre and very difficult to understand, and holds that we ought, therefore, to look at it in the light of what we know otherwise of the laws of human development, and of the races here concerned in particular. Roth, on the other hand, assumes the attitude of absolute certainty upon every point. He builds up a great structure upon the doubtful interpretation of doubtful passages and throws contempt upon all who do not follow his conclusions. His books read with the greatest smoothness and have commended themselves to many scholars by their apparent decisive settlement of every point at issue.

It is for these reasons that the account of the feudal system given in the text rests mainly upon the presentation by Waitz in his German Constitution. I have endeavored to modify it by such comments of his opponents as commended themselves to me, but, on the whole, he seems to me to have marked out the only safe rule of action in dealing with such meagre and obscure material. It is a satisfaction to learn, after writing the present chapter, that Professor Brunner of Berlin has been recently led to abandon his former position on the question of benefices as a follower of Roth, and to admit that the conclusions of Waitz are in the main sound, and also that Professor Andrews of Brown University has come to practically the same view of the controversy as that which I have given. E. E.

the period we are studying, from the first breach of the Roman frontier until the time of Charlemagne. Ownership of land had come to be the most important thing in their lives. It was the chief source of their incomes; it gave to the large holders influence and power over the smaller ones, and it was the basis of the duty which the citizen owed to the state. Only the free landholder was bound to military service, and this obligation was at the same time his privilege and his distinction.[1] As the population had grown more dense, and therefore the demand for agricultural produce had increased, the condition of the peasant — that is, of the free small landholder — had become more prosperous, and a peasant class had been developed which was the backbone of the race. And this peasant (*Bauer*) was not a mere day-laborer. He might well have many laborers under him, who stood toward him in a condition of serfdom or half slavery. The "heerban" of Charlemagne was largely composed of such peasant proprietors. These men held their land in what we call fee-simple; that is, the land was their own and went by inheritance to their children. They owed a duty to the state because they were landholders, but the payment of this duty was not the condition upon which they held their land. Such land was called in the Middle Ages an "allode," and the holding was said to be "allodial." So far things do not seem to have been very different from our own agricultural arrangements.

Growth of a free peasantry.

"Allodial" property.

But alongside of this free ownership of land there

[1] Waitz: Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte, IV. 532 sq.

had been growing up also another sort of holding, entirely different from anything we have ever seen. Beside the ordinary peasant owner there grew up also the landowner who was not himself a farmer, whose land was nothing to him but a means of revenue, and whose real occupation in this world was fighting the battles of the king. In an age of warfare like this, of course the fighter by profession was much more highly thought of than the cultivator of the soil. He was the gentleman of the time. He stood in a relation of peculiar intimacy to the king, and it was the first interest of the king to keep him attached to his cause by every possible means. One of these means was by giving him a share in the administration of the government as a royal officer, set over a part of the country to see that the king's justice was done there. Another means was by giving him a share in the plunder in case of war. But the principal means of securing the allegiance of the noble was by a gift of land. Now we may well ask: Where did the king get land to give away? The Merovingian kings had provided for themselves in the conquest of the other tribes, by keeping for their share a certain large portion of the conquered territory. This land had then come to the Carolingians, increased by their family property, and further by the constant warfare in which they were engaged. They could not manage these great estates for themselves. It was far more convenient and far more profitable for them to give the lands into the hands of faithful subjects who should hold them and cultivate them, and in return should bind themselves to the king by vows of perpetual fidelity.

"Feudal" property.

A gift of land of this sort was called a "feudal grant," the land thus given was called a "feud" or "fief," and the terms on which such land was held were called the "feudal tenure." You will see that it was something like our method of renting land, only that we rent for money, whereas the feudal king rented for service. Moreover, our renting of land is done generally for a short time and at so much a year, but the feudal land was given during the pleasure of the grantor, and might be taken back at any time. In fact, however, there were few reasons why the grantor should want to take back his land. He might perhaps think he could get better terms from another tenant, or the tenant might have broken his part of the contract. But as a rule it was for the interest of both parties to keep up to their agreement, especially as the holder would naturally want the gift to be renewed to his son. Indeed, it soon came to be so much the regular thing for the son to receive the lands of his father by a new gift, that it was not long before the kings recognized the grant as hereditary, so long as there should be a son to carry on the obligations into which the father had entered. In the old documents, of which we have a great many, this sort of a gift is said to be "*in beneficium*," a word coming from the old Roman law under which a similar form of landholding had existed. This holding of land upon terms of service is the first element of the feudal system.[1]

Feudal grants.

Inheritance of fiefs.

[1] The following formula for the confirmation of a *beneficium* is taken from the collection of Rozière, No. CCCXIX.

"To the venerable Lord N., rector of the church at N., or to all the congregation of that place, I, N, Greeting: —

The second element in the system brings us to the word "**vassalage.**" Again we must try to understand former things by comparing them with what we see about us. If we look at the states of Europe and America to-day, we shall see that they have one thing in common: all the inhabitants are the direct subjects of the government. Whether the government be by the people's choice, as with us, or "by the grace of God," as in the European monarchies, there can be no recognized power standing between the subject and the state. Now, among the German peoples, as we have seen, the tie to the state was not very strong. You will remember that we spoke of the ease with which, in the earlier times of

"Vassalage."

Personal service

"In answer to my request you voluntarily decreed that you would order an estate of yours, situated in the district of N., in the town of N., in the place called N., together with all property thereto belonging, to be given to me in usufruct, and this you have done; but under the following conditions: — that I should not be allowed to sell or give away or in any way diminish it, but under your protection, as long as your decree remains in force, I may hold it and use it. And for this you have taxed me every year at the feast of St. N. a certain sum of money.*

"And after my death the above mentioned estate, in all its completeness, whatever thereto belongs and all that at my death shall have been left upon it, without any special act of the court or any demand of my heirs, shall be placed in their hands by you or your agents. And if either I or any of my heirs, contrary to this grant shall have presumed to raise any complaint or any claim or to show any contempt(?), let him not have what he claims, and moreover let him pay one hundred solidi to him against whom he raised the contention; and although I may have held this grant for several years, let this create no prejudice against you, but let it stand as firm as if it were renewed every five years, together with the annexed conditions, and let it remain inviolate for all time.

* Probably as a recognition of ownership, not as rent.

the migrations, a brave leader might gather about him a multitude of followers, often of many different nations, who would be bound to him by no other tie than that of personal allegiance. It was this thing which, more than any other, struck the Roman Tacitus, accustomed, as we are, to the orderly working of a great political machine, as a special peculiarity of the German people. The so-called "kings" of most of the German tribes seem to have been specially elected persons, chosen for their individual capacity to lead the nation in a time of danger. In our period this looseness of political organization had been gradually giving place to a more orderly system. The Frankish people, conquerors of all the rest, had a perfectly well-defined royal power, and had gone on in the regular progress of national development which we have been studying. But even here the old instinct of attachment to a personal leader had not been lost. It was no longer so strong as quite to overthrow the royal power; but it was there all the same, and the kings were forced to recognize it. The allegiance, which had formerly showed itself for a successful fighter, whoever he might be, was now transferred to the king. He became the "*princeps*" of the nation. His officials, general and magistrate in one, as they always were, bound themselves to him by a special oath of fidelity. They declared themselves his "men" (*homines*) by a ceremony, which came then to be known as "homage." They were in a quite peculiar sense his "vassals," bound to serve him with their lives. Originally this relation of vassalage had nothing to do with the possession of land. The vassal was the king's man, not because he

transferred to the king.

held land of the king, but because this relation was one of especial honor, and put him in the way to power of various kinds. But as the custom of rewarding service with gifts of land "in beneficium" became fixed, it was of all things the most natural that such gifts should be made with especial frequency to the men who stood in the relation of vassalage. And as this went on, the two became so closely connected that scholars have often supposed that they always belonged together. By the time of Charlemagne the holder of a beneficium from the king was almost of necessity his vassal. The difference between this relation and that of the "follower" in the time of Tacitus was mainly such as had been brought about by the more settled state of the national life. Ownership of land had come in to take the place of the booty in war and the dignity in peace which were the compensation for the earlier form of service.

Vassalage combined with landholding.

These were two of the elements of Feudalism. There was yet a third, the "**Immunity**." When political power is conferred nowadays by a higher power to a lower, as, for instance, by a government to its representative in a colony or a subject province, the governor gets no rights for himself personally. He may have the power of life and death over the inhabitants of the province, but he has it only by virtue of a special commission, which will some day expire. His action is subject to examination and correction by the home government; in short, he is *responsible* to some one, and has rights only subject to such responsibility. The position of the feudal vassal was entirely different from this. When he received a grant

The "Immunity."

of land, he received with it generally the right to act there in all respects as a sovereign, saving only the duty which he owed to his lord the king, and — but this was often a mere form — saving also the rights which the king had in the last resort over the inhabitants of the given lands. This grant of practically independent sovereignty was the "*immunitas*." It was made to both clerical and lay holders; but the term is, perhaps, most often used in connection with the great Church establishments. It made the feudal vassal practically independent of all intermeddling on the lands he received, so long as he fulfilled the duty of service which was the condition of his holding. He had by this the right to levy soldiers, to execute justice, and to raise money for these and other purposes. Every other person was forbidden to interfere with him in the exercise of these rights. You will wonder how the king could afford to give away such important rights. The fact is, that he could not afford to do otherwise. The principle of loyalty to the king had not yet become strong enough to make it possible for him to enforce the law upon his powerful subjects. It was better to make use of the principles of honor and self-interest, which, combined in the feudal system, gave a sort of rude order to the states of Europe until they should have learned by long training to live under more stable forms.[1]

[1] Specimen of an Immunity of Charlemagne granted to the monastery of St. Marcellus at Châlons sur Sâone.

"Charles, by the grace of God King of the Franks and Lombards and Patrician of the Romans, to all having charge of our affairs, both present and to come: —

"By the help of the Lord, who has raised us to the throne of this

We have thus far spoken of the feudal system only as it appeared in the relation of the king to his immediate subjects. If it had stopped there, it might never have been worth our study. The same reasons which made it an advantage for the king to grant land on the feudal tenure, made it an advantage for the vassal to grant a great part of what he received, to others on the same terms. This was called "*subinfeudation.*" It might extend to the third or fourth degree, so that land nominally belonging to the king might be separated from his direct control by several intermediate persons. Each one of these grantors in parting with his land parted also with the same sovereign rights of military levy, justice, and taxation which the king had given to him, and thus, in course of time, the effect was to cover the land with a great multitude of petty sovereigns, each bound by the feudal tie to some one above him, and to some one or more below him. All this tended naturally to weaken

"Subinfeudation."

kingdom, it is the chief duty of our clemency to lend a gracious ear to the needs of all, and especially ought we devoutly to regard that which we are persuaded has been granted by preceding kings to Church foundations for the saving of souls, and not to deny fitting benefits, in order that we may deserve to be partakers of the reward, but to confirm them in still greater security.

"Now the illustrious Hubert, bishop and ruler of the church of St. Marcellus, which lies below the citadel of Châlons, where the precious Martyr of the Lord himself rests in the body, has brought it to the attention of our Highness that the kings who preceded us, or our lord and father of blessed memory, Pippin, the preceding king, had by their charters granted complete immunities to that Monastery, so that in the towns or on the lands belonging to it no public judge, nor any one with power of hearing cases or exacting fines, or raising sureties, or obtaining lodging or entertainment, or making requisitions of any kind, should enter.

the allegiance of these landholders to the king or to the state. In theory there was always a means by which the king's justice could be felt in every quarter of his kingdom, but the oppressive noble was so much nearer than the king, that the person oppressed found it much easier to bear his ills, or to make his peace with this powerful neighbor, than to risk the certain dangers of a journey to the king's court, and of a quarrel in which he was sure to get the worst of it.

All this happened after the time we are studying; but the beginnings of all these evils were to be seen long before Charlemagne disappeared.

Feudalism on Church lands.

Next in importance to the royal lands were the lands of the Church. We have already seen how it was that the Church had succeeded, from a very early time, in getting together enormous tracts

"Moreover, the aforesaid bishop, Hubert, has presented the original charters of former kings, together with the confirmations of them, to be read by us, and declares the same favors to be preserved into modern times; but desiring the confirmation of our clemency, he prays that our authority may confirm this grant anew to the Monastery.

"Wherefore, having inspected the said charters of former kings, we command that neither you, nor your subordinates, nor your successors, nor any person having judicial powers shall presume to enter into the villages which may at the present time be in possession of that Monastery, or which hereafter may have been so bestowed by God-fearing men, or [may be about to be so bestowed](?). Let no public officer enter for the hearing of causes, or for exacting fines, or procuring sureties, or obtaining lodging or entertainment, or making any requisitions, but in full immunity, even as the favor of former kings has been continued down to the present day, so in the future also shall it, through our authority, remain undiminished. And if in past times through any negligence of Abbots, or lukewarmness of rulers, or the presumption of public officers anything has been changed or torn away, removed or withdrawn from these immunities, let it be by our authority, and favor

of land. There was no way in which a pious king or noble or other landholder could so well show his devotion to religion, his penitence for his sins, or his hope of eternal salvation, as to give to some neighboring monastery or bishopric a goodly estate, with all the buildings and all the inhabitants which might happen to be on it. We saw how sometimes these lands granted to the Church were at first worth but little, and that then the good fathers proved themselves the most skilful agriculturists of their time by levelling forests and draining swamps until the lands had risen on their hands to enormous value. The peculiar thing about this holding of land by the Church, was that it never changed hands. The individual died, but the corporation lived. It was always getting and never losing.

Value of Church holdings.

restored. And, further, let neither you nor your subordinates presume to infringe or violate what we have granted.

"But if there be any one, Dominus, Comes, Domesticus, Vicarius, or one girded with any judicial power whatsoever, by the indulgence of the good or by the favor of pious Christians or kings, who shall have presumed to infringe or violate these immunities, let him be punished with a fine of six hundred solidi, two parts to go to the library of this Monastery, and the third part to be paid into our treasury, so that impious men may not rejoice in violating that which our ancestors or good Christians may have conceded or granted. And whatever our treasury may have had a right to expect from this source, shall go to the profit of the men of this church of St. Marcellus the martyr, to the better establishment of our kingdom and the good of those who shall succeed us.

"And that this decree may firmly endure, we have ordered it to be confirmed with our own hand under our seal.

[SEAL] Seal of Charles, the most glorious king. Given on the thirtieth of April in the eleventh and fifth year of our reigns. Done at Heristal."

Danger to the state.

We saw further that in the time of Charles Martel, the state was beginning to see that its revenues were being endangered by this process, and tried to get back some of these lands which the Church had got. How clearly such a step was against the spirit of the times, we may see from the abuse heaped upon Martel, and from the pains which his successors took to repair the damage he had done, and to avoid similar action themselves. Still it was very clear that the lands granted to the Church could not be allowed to slip away from the service of the king. We have the best of proof that this danger was felt, in the laws of Charlemagne, forbidding any one to hand over his lands to the Church in order to escape military service. It was the duty of the Church, as it was of the lay holder, to contribute its proportion of men and money in the service of the state, but how to enforce this duty without offence to the Church, was a question of the greatest delicacy.

Feudalism secured service from clergy.

That a clergyman should himself bear arms was at all times felt to be an unseemly thing; but such was the warlike spirit of the day that the higher clergy, bishops, and abbots, were often to be found with the army, and it required special laws to prevent them from actually bearing arms. As to the people on their estates, Charlemagne had no hesitation in insisting that they should do their part in the service of the king. As the amount of service required from a landowner was proportioned to the size of his land, it was often a serious problem how the Church lands, of great extent, but almost wholly occupied by a population of agricultural laborers, should be made to

pay their part. This problem was solved by the feudal system. The monasteries and bishoprics parted with their land to fighting nobles, on the tenure of military service, and received these persons as their vassals. This process went on at a great pace at the time of Charlemagne. It was a capital arrangement for all parties. It gave to the monastery the certainty of being able to meet the demands of the king for military service, to say nothing of being strong enough to keep troublesome neighbors in check, and it gave to the noble the means of supporting a considerable body of fighting men, as well as an honorable settlement for his family. By giving this soldier a personal interest in a piece of land it kept him from turning into a mere fighter. It made him also the responsible head of an industrial community; and though it may have been very far from an ideal state of things, still it was one way out of the barbarity of the time. On the other hand, it saved the agricultural regions of Europe from the fate which fell upon the ancient Roman state and upon the southern half of our country before the war, of having the land divided among great landholders, who cultivated their immense estates by slave labor.

"Commendation."

The greatest danger in this system lay in the very thing which made it most popular. It soon became clear that it would not be possible for the two kinds of holdings — allodial and feudal — to go on peacefully together. Just as in our day men are trying to buy land and houses, so that they may live on what is their own, though they might live quite as well and more cheaply in hired houses and on hired lands, so, on the other hand, in these early Middle Ages, men soon began

to see that the burdens and responsibilities of private ownership were so great that they preferred to give up their lands to some more powerful person, and receive them back from him on the feudal basis. This giving up of allodial land and receiving it again as feudal was a part of the process called "**commendation.**" The freeman was said to "commend" himself to a lord, and by the receipt of the land he became his vassal. In the later years of Charlemagne this process was going on very rapidly.[1]

Social effect of feudalism.

Such was the feudal system in so far as it was concerned with the holding of land. It was the framework within which mediæval society was to grow. The peculiar charm of that society, its roman-

[1] An ancient formula of commendation in the *Formulæ Turonenses*, n. 44, gives an example of this process. The vassal is a poor man; he begins by addressing himself to a noble lord (*domino magnifico*): "Since it is well known to every one that I have scarcely the wherewithal to feed and clothe myself, therefore I desire to beseech your charity that I might commend myself into your guardianship (*mundoburdum*) upon the following terms: that as long as I shall be able to serve you, you shall provide me with food and clothing, and that as long as I live I will give you sure and faithful service, and that I shall have no power to withdraw myself from your guardianship all the days of my life, but shall remain under your power and defence. Wherefore it is provided that if one of us shall desire to withdraw from this agreement, he shall pay to the other party —— shillings, and this agreement shall be unbroken. It is further provided that two writings of the same tenor shall be made and exchanged."

The two following examples illustrate commendation in a higher form. The act here is not merely a personal and economic one, but has also an important political meaning.

Annales Laurrissenses, ann. 757: King Pippin held an assembly at Compiègne, and thither came Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, to commend himself in vassalage by the clasping of hands (*per manus*), and he swore countless oaths, laying his hands upon the relics of

tic elements, the devotion of the vassal to his lord, the absolute duty of the lord to the vassal, the noble conception of the gentleman which grew up in the progress of chivalry, the high place of woman in the consideration of men, the charm which literature has thrown about all these social relations, would have been impossible without the basis of legal order which we have here been studying in its somewhat dry outlines.

Feudalism against centralization.

The study of all these things would be out of place in an introduction to the history of the Middle Ages. They *are* the history of the Middle Ages. Our only purpose is to take a glimpse at this new society as it was forming in the time of Charlemagne. It will occur to you that the tendencies of such

holy martyrs, promising fidelity to King Pippin and his sons Karl and Karlmann, that he would be their vassal with an upright heart and pure devotion, as a vassal should be to his lord. Thus Tassilo bound himself upon the bodies of saints Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, of saints Germanus and saint Martin, that all the days of his life he would maintain what he had thus sworn. And all the elder men who were with him swore the same things, both in the places above named and in many others.

Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen in honorem Ludowici Augusti*, III. 601. The King of Denmark commends himself as vassal to the Emperor Louis the Pious.

"Then with clasped hands he gave himself to the king, and with himself the kingdom which was his by right, saying: 'Take, O Cæsar, me and my subject kingdoms; of my own free will I give myself to thy service.'

"Then the Emperor took the hands of the king within his own noble hands, and the realms of Denmark were added to the God-serving Franks.

"Thereupon the Emperor, rejoicing, gave to him, after the manner of the Franks, a horse and, as the custom was, at the same time an equipment of arms."

a society were exactly the opposite of many of t
which we have been studying. For instance, we saw
Charlemagne was determined above all things to r
his own authority felt in every corner of his em
The counts whom he sent out to carry on the go
ment in the provinces were to be entirely depen
upon him, and were not to be in any sense lor
the countries they governed in his name. That
undoubtedly Charlemagne's theory, but in practi
could not be carried out. These counts, scattere
over the Empire, followed the drift of the feudal
tutions, and soon began to get, either from the ki
from the Church, great pieces of land over which
were, in the feudal sense, independent sovere
This process began in the time of Charlemagne.
did what he could against it, but as soon as he
gone, it appeared that it could no longer be che

Advantages of feudalism for the king.

In fact, it soon became clear that only in this could the allegiance of these powerful jects be secured. It was cheaper to g man a landed estate, however large, in r for the honorable service he would be pretty su render, rather than run the risk of having him f enemy who might combine with some others o kind, and take for his own the very lands the kin refused him. Of course the more land the king away in this fashion, the less he had left to draw from, so that the time soon came when it would been impossible for him to enforce the law agains barons. It was only by their willing help th could get soldiers for any purpose. Any effo police them would have been like calling upon m

est themselves and bring themselves before a court of justice.

So it was by this process that the brilliant establishnt which Charlemagne had built up went pidly to pieces. In spite of all his effort make a Roman empire out of Teutonic oples, the Teutonic instincts of the race me out triumphant. All the essential ideas of Feudaln were Germanic. Some of them existed as well among e Romans, but there was no one of them which was clusively Roman. So it happened quite naturally at what was most thoroughly Germanic in the institutions of Charlemagne remained deeply rooted in the ves of the European peoples for about eight hundred ears. When the time came for them to be changed, his change was brought about largely by the growth f other institutions as plainly Romanic as those of Feudalism were plainly Germanic.

The Germanic element overcomes the Romanic.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

EVENTS MENTIONED IN THIS BOOK.

B.C.	
753 (?).	Foundation of Rome.
753–510 (?).	Period of the Kings.
510–31.	Period of Roman Conquest.
133.	Death of Tiberius Gracchus.
121.	Death of Caius Gracchus.
104–100.	Consulships of Marius.
82.	Dictatorship of Sulla.
102(?)–44.	Caius Julius Cæsar.
31–A.D. 14.	Cæsar Octavianus Augustus.
A.D.	
9.	Battle of the Teutoburg Forest.
c. 100.	Composition of the "Germania" of Tacitus.
166–180.	Wars of Marcus Aurelius against the Marcomanni and Quadi.
270–275.	Aurelian Emperor. Surrender of the Province of Dacia.
284–305.	Diocletian Emperor.
312.	Victory of Constantine over Maxentius "at the Milvian Bridge."
313.	Edict of Milan giving toleration to Christianity.
324–337.	Constantine sole ruler.
325.	First General Church Council at Nicæa.
360–362.	Julian, the "Apostate" Emperor.
378.	Battle of Adrianople.
318–388.	Ulfilas, the Apostle of the Visigoths.

A.D.	
379–**395**.	Theodosius Emperor.
395–423.	Honorius Emperor of the West.
395–408.	Arcadius Emperor of the East.
408–450.	Theodosius II. Emperor of the East.
395–410.	Alaric King of the Visigoths.
400.	Alaric in Italy.
402.	Repulse of Alaric by Stilicho at Pollentia.
408.	Murder of Stilicho by Honorius.
410.	Sack of Rome by Alaric.
411.	Evacuation of Britain by the Roman troops.
415.	Foundation of the Visigothic kingdom in Gaul and Spain.
429.	The Vandals cross over to Africa.
430.	Death of St. Augustine.
433.	Attila leader of the Huns.
439.	Capture of Carthage by the Vandals.
440–461.	Papacy of Leo I.
443.	The Burgundians occupy the Rhone valley.
450–457.	Marcian. }
457–474.	Leo the Thracian. } Emperors of the East.
474–491.	Zeno. }
449.	Anglo-Saxon conquest of England begun.
451.	Battle of Châlons.
451.	Council of Chalcedon.
452.	Attila invades Italy.
454.	Break-up of the Hunnish kingdom.
425–455.	Valentinian III. Emperor of the West.
455.	Sack of Rome by the Vandals.
455–476.	Eight emperors of the West, mostly the creatures of Ricimer the Sueve.
476.	End of the Western Empire.
476–493.	Italy under the government of Odoacer the Herulian.
486.	The Franks under Clovis defeat Syagrius, a Roman general at Soissons.
490–493.	Conflict in Italy between Odoacer and the Ostrogoths under Theodoric.
493–552.	The Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy.

A.D.	
496.	Clovis defeats the Alemanni near Strassburg and becomes a Catholic Christian.
	The Franks annex the Ripuarian land.
500.	Burgundy tributary to the Franks.
507.	Aquitaine temporarily occupied by the Franks.
526.	Death of Theodoric the Ostrogoth.
529.	Foundation of the Benedictine order.
530.	Conquest of Thuringia by the Franks.
534.	Conquest of the Vandals by the Eastern Roman Empire.
534.	Final conquest of Burgundy by the Franks.
535 & 540.	Campaigns of Belisarius, general of the Eastern Empire, in Italy.
552.	Narses, the successor of Belisarius, totally defeats the Ostrogoths under Totila.
558.	Lothair I. reunites the Frankish kingdoms.
568.	Invasion of Northern Italy by the Lombards.
596.	Roman mission to the Anglo-Saxons under Pope Gregory I.
622.	The "Hegira" of the prophet Mohammed.
628–638.	Dagobert, king of the Franks.
664.	Council of Whitby. Victory of Roman Christianity in England.
687.	Battle of Testry. Austrasia conquers Neustria.
711.	The Arabs cross into Spain and destroy the Visigothic kingdom.
714–741.	Charles Martel "Major Domus" of the Franks.
732.	Battle of Tours (Poitiers).
746.	Abdication of Karlmann.
752.	Pippin king of the Franks.
756.	Donation of Pippin to the papacy.
768.	Division of the Frankish kingdom between the sons of Pippin.
771–814.	Charlemagne sole king of the Franks.
774.	Conquest of Lombardy by Charlemagne.
772–803.	The Saxon war.
774.	Donation of Charlemagne to the papacy.
777.	Charlemagne's expedition into Spain.

A.D.	
780 (?).	The Capitulary "*de partibus Saxoniæ.*"
782.	Massacre of prisoners at Verden.
778–785.	Career of Widukind the Saxon.
787.	Conquest of Bavaria.
791.	Conquest of the Avars.
794.	Council at Frankfort.
797.	The "*Capitulare Saxonicum.*"
800.	Charlemagne crowned Emperor.
814.	Death of Charlemagne.

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